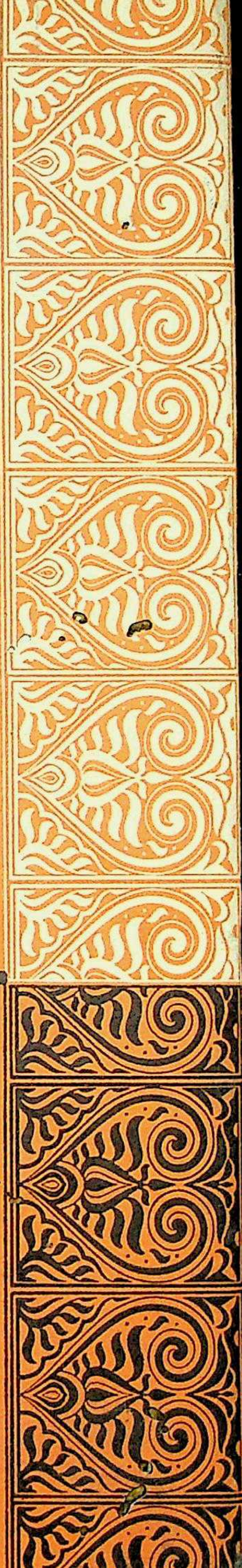
THE DYNAMIC BRAHMIN

B. N. NAIR



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THE DYNAMIC BRAHMIN

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A Study of the Brahmin's personality in Indian Culture with special reference to South India.

BALAKRISHNA N. NAIR
(Member, The Indian Sociological Society)

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This book is dedicated in all humility to the inspiring teacher, writer and thinker, my revered father-in-law

Navelar Dr. Somasundara Bharati,
M.A., B.L., D.Litt (Honoris Causa)

and to my devoted wife

Shrimati Meena Nair, M.A.

and my sons

Balachandran
Ravindran
Ashokan

system is unmistakably their work and in modern times in spite of processes of democratization of life and thought during British rule, they have consciously or unconsciously contributed to economic and political inequality among Indians. The strength of the Brahmin cultural conquest may be assessed from the fact that in spite of far reaching political and economic changes in India they have succeeded in maintaining the totality of the separate castes within the framework of a religious community, the unity of which is provided by Hinduism as a system of ritual and belief with the Brahmin enjoying the primacy in every walk of life" and further, "the tendency towards Brahminical ascendancy in every sector of public life in India has in fact been accentuated since Independence and that the efforts of the present Government in many sectors of social life may be interpreted in terms of the expansion of Brahminical ideas and ideals to their ultimate goal." Stirred by these factors Shri Nair attempts to understand the phenomenon.

According to Shri Nair this study could have been made from a number of angles. It could be studied from the standpoint of social anthropology, from the standpoint of comparative and rural sociology as well as from the 'standpoint of social psychology viewed from the angle of social control'. Shri Nair explicitly formulates his approach in the following words. "The study is primarily concerned with an analysis of the various techniques of social control employed by the Brahmins from the dim past of the India's cultural history upto the present day".

Shri Nair formulates his conclusions and proceeds to collect his evidence for his conclusions on the basis of certain major sociological assumptions. His entire thesis rests on those postulates. They are as follows:—

1) He accepts the major postulates formulated by Professor LaPiere with regard to techniques of social control adopted by a small status group for cultural and ideological conquest.

2) He accepts the broad fourfold classification of Hinduism viz. All-India Hinduism, Penninsular Hinduism, Regional Hinduism and Local Hinduism by Prof. M. N. Srinivas. On this basis he unveils the various techniques and devices adopted by the Brahmins to control the masses. He illustrates his ideas by taking examples from all types of Hinduism, and points out how the techniques of Control differ at different levels.

3) Shri Nair has explicitly formulated his theory of development of Hindu society and Hinduism. According to him the emergence, development, and present state of Hindu Society and Hinduism is a conscious construct of the status group called Brahmins to satisfy its own design of cultural and ideological conquest. To quote Shri Nair himself, "The role of the Brahmin as the cultural conqueror has been brought about through conscious motivation. There is no denying the fact that it is the consciously motivated drives of the Brahmin that produced the cultural phenomena of Hinduism in India. Brahmin scholars of today may object to this psychologistic approach as the false approach towards the interpretation of India's cultural History. . . . However modern sociological knowledge provides us with tools of analysis sufficient to unravel even the most baffling of such mysteries. Hindu society today is an automaton stimulus response system within which the Brahmin plays the key role (status role) like the conductor of an Orchestra".

4) Shri Nair contends that during the medieval and British periods Brahmins occupied the position of cultural conquerors. According to him even the social and religio-reform movements were more in the nature of extending Brahmin's control over entire Indian population. These movements wanted to envelop those tribal and untouchable sections of the Indian population which were still not absorbed by the Brahminical social order. Even after the independence the Brahmin still wields his power over the Indian masses. According to him, the Brahmin wields the power of the state today. He operates the entire mechanism of power through

the operation of the Bureaucratic central apparatus. He controls and occupies key positions in all institutions which mould social, cultural and political life of India. To put it in Shri Nair's words, "Brahmin remains the same, relentlessly persuaded about his personal superiority as a human being—a potential superman as Nietzche found him and adamantly convinced of the need to secure his personal and class ascendency over the rest of the people. From Parsuram to Pandit Nehru there is thus a single thread running through the social historical setting of Indian society and connected by the same zeal and apostolic motivation in order to teach, control and spread."

Shri Nair's postulates are highly questionable. Each one of them deserves a careful examination and critical scrutiny. But this preface is not the arena for that tournament. While not in agreement with his major premises, what impressed me most about this work was its unconventional and provocative nature. Indian History is still a highly speculative science. It is being approached from many angles. It is being interpreted from many a viewpoint. However, the predominant viewpoint is to evolve a glorifying, and a flattering attitude towards the architects of Hinduism.

Shri Nair by explicitly postulating his major hypotheses, and explaining the phenomenon from them, flings a number of significant issues over which the Indian Scholars have not still given satisfactory answers.

Shri Nair's work further pinpoints a number of problems which deserve more objective and unbiased approach. His work acts as a warning signal against the new Hindu Chauvinist scholarship which is emerging in India and which is elaborating a reactionary glorification of past feudal and pre-feudal Hindu values.

5) Though one may not agree with Shri Nair in accepting that Brahmins alone occupy all key positions in the Indian society, one has to acknowledge and seriously take note of

the fact that a few dominant classes comprising certain upper castes in Indian Society today shape the economic, the political, and the cultural life of the people. This is a dangerous trend whose grave implications to our masses must be taken note of. Shri Nair's work very poignantly brings to light this growing danger.

Shri Nair's work to my mind is more in the nature of a cryptic hypothesis. He himself is competent enough to expound in more elaborate manner the germinal ideas presented in this short dissertation. I hope Shri Nair will soon come out with a major work with fuller data and richer interconnections of different facets of Hindu life which to my mind he has only cursorily touched in this work.

A. R. Desai

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Bombay.

AVANT—PROPOS

THIS IS a research monograph and not a political or communal pamphlet. The purpose of this study is not to bring the Brahmins as a caste in oversharp focus but to rediscover them in the Indian social context and establish their social identity as a creative minority employing the time-honoured social drill of mimesis. The author is in no way anxious to stimulate the self-awareness of the Brahmins as a status-group. Nevertheless, he does not wish to lend himself to any facile misinterpretation as being anti or pro-brahmin. He would rather consider himself as a neo-Hindu. His chief aim is to attempt a sketch of Indian culture with its central role played by the Brahmin in the mutation of a primitive society into a coherent institutional pattern through the strength of his own personality and depending on the mimetic faculty of the unthinking masses of India. The study thus adopts a *brahmino-centric approach* to Indian history as a whole and employs for this purpose several interlocking methods of scientific analysis.

Brahmins, as a creative minority have commanded respect and attention from scholars all over the world. Indian scholars have, however, been fighting shy of analysing the Brahmin's cultural roles in Indian history except in veiled terms as an *apologia pro sua vita.* Recently however, Shri K. M. Munshi has come forward to restate the concept of the *'dominant minority'* in his stimulating booklet on *'Warnings of History, trends in modern India.'* Bhartiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, 1959. Shri Munshi's words are invariably thought-provoking and compel attention. Similarly, among sociologists there has been keener interest of late on social psychology and the roles of a *'norm-setting group'* in Indian society. Drs. I. P. Desai and Y. G. Damle for example puts interesting posers when they state that "the Brahmin in particular and the upper castes in general was such a group in the past. Today, the position of the Brahmin is shaken but not that of the upper castes as the norm-setting group.

and historical motivation may not always have the acclaimed validity. And yet under Indian conditions the conclusion is inescapable that such a study of Indian culture is more revealing than anything else. Mimesis and creativity, for example, may be successful techniques up to a certain point in history but beyond that limit they have a predisposition to be overtaken by a *"passive abberation"*. The stage of the *'nemesis of creativity'* as Toynbee calls it may not yet be in India but surely there is the feeling of the slow and gradual extinction of that elan after Independence which a well-known Indian women leader once feelingly called "the first fine careless rapture after our Independence". The author believes that this nemesis is already making itself felt in a number of fields where Hindu social action is prominent. In this as well as in a number of other matters he has not been able to avoid the usual pitfall of value-judgements, not so much in terms of his own personal idealism but in tune with his serious reflections over the absence of a general social philosophy for this country. He hopes that he will be shown an understanding indulgence by the more intelligent among his readers, particularly the professional research workers in the same field.

The typology of behaviour of the ascendant small group such as the Brahmins is best studied in formal organizations such as bureaucracy. Bureaucracy in its earlier stages has been effectively utilized by the Brahmin, particularly by the South Indian Brahmin for routinizing the charisma. I have, therefore, thought it necessary to add a section on this aspect of the Brahmin's ascendancy without any malice and have restricted my comments to the motivational framework. In fact I am indebted to many of my good Brahmin friends in having helped me to formulate my views on this matter. I have not made my observations in any spirit of malicious criticism or to rake up any controversy but merely to outline the dimensions of the personality of the Brahmin as it reflects itself in bureaucratic organization. I recommend the *participant-observer method* employed here for further studies by intelligent colleagues in a spirit of disinterested self-criticism.

This little book has been seen in the manuscript stage by a good many friends. I am particularly grateful to Professor Dr. A. R. Wadia for having carefully gone through the manuscripts and offered his valuable criticisms. I am equally obliged to Professor Dr. D. Kosambi for his friendly yet forthright criticisms. To Dr. Felix Valji, Dr. S. S. Bharati, D. Litt. my revered father-in-law, Dr. Natarajan, Mrs. Rachel Welsch of Washington, Nitya Chaitanya, former secretary of the Bharat Sadhu Samaj, Professor R. Lapiere of Stanford University, California, U.S.A., Dr. A. Ayyappan of Madras; and now of Utkal University, my friends Krishnachaitaṇiya and Mr. John Spiers, Dr. M. N. Srinivas of Baroda University (and now of Delhi University) I owe my special thanks for their kind encouragement. Lastly I should record with gratitude the brotherly encouragement I have consistently received from Dr. A. R. Desai, Sociology Department, University of Bombay, who has kindly written the foreword to this modest volume.

Bombay. BALAKRISHNA N. NAIR

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THE AUTHOR

ENVOI

THE AUTHOR has honoured me by asking for a few words about this book. No one can deny that the brahmin-non-brahmin question, especially in South India, has been a touchy subject, hitherto approached with a great deal of hesitation and much hush-hush. Even now it is not the fashion to speak openly of this subject. Anyone who is bold enough to do so might be in the position of Jean-Jacques Rousseau. It may be recalled that once, because of his unconventional conversational manner at a nobleman's table, an elderly lady sitting next to him whispered to Rousseau, "Tais toi Jean-Jacques!"

My friend Balakrishnan Narayan Nair has courageously broken the ice for us here. So with more honesty and less cant we can now enter into a preserve long neglected, a "fen of stagnant waters" still represented in our moribund cultural and socio-economic life.

Although I thought in the beginning when I glanced over the contents of the book that he was perhaps exaggerating the importance of the subject and giving too much importance to the brahmin who at present deserve perhaps to be treated with sympathy rather than mistrust, on closer examination of several paragraphs here and there, I am convinced that in this work we have for the first time in modern India a kind of literature which is sure to cleanse and vitalize our life currents in their common human aspects.

I find that much labour and study has gone into the work. The notes and the bibliography are both copious and highly educative, while the index will help the serious student. In order to formulate his ideas critically, on a subject of great importance in the renaissance of India, the author has had to use many out of the way words and expressions. These enrich the language and also help the student.

After the Foreword and the *Avant Propos* of the author himself, it is hardly necessary for me to say more than this *Envoi* consisting of good wishes and also, as the author himself desires, by way of Guru blessings. Here is a subject indeed dear to the heart of my own teacher, the Guru Narayana, who, in a starting Sanskrit verse (in a composition of five verses called *Critique of Caste or Jati Mimamsa*) the remaining four verses being in familiar Malayalam as if addressed to the non-brahmin, with a sharp touch of painful poignance, complains as follows:

Man's humanity makes the human kind
As bovinity determines the bovine species.
The brahmin and the like are not thuswise.
Alas! the truth is understood by none at all.

May abundant Guru blessings go with the book and its author.

NATARAJA GURU
(Dr. P. Natarajan,
M.A., D.Litt. (Paris))

Gurukula
Kaggalipura,
Mysore.

CONTENTS

FOREWORD vii
PREFACE xiii
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS xviii
ENVOI xix

PART I THESIS

PROLOGUE 1
CHAPTER I LOCAL HINDUISM IN KERALA .. 8
CHAPTER II THE BEGINNINGS OF REGIONAL HINDUISM 24
CHAPTER III TECHNIQUES OF SOCIAL CONTROL .. 43
CHAPTER IV SOCIAL CONTROL THROUGH LANGUAGE 67
CHAPTER V THE BRAHMIN AND THE NEW INDIAN 87
CHAPTER VI THE THREE GREAT ROLES OF THE BRAHMIN 107
EPILOGUE .. ..

PART II RENVOI THEORIQUE

CHAPTER VII CONCEPTS AND HYPOTHESIS 147
CHAPTER VIII THE STRUCTURE OF HINDU SOCIAL ACTION 170
CHAPTER IX THE CULTURAL CONTENT IN INDIAN BUREAUCRACY 182
CHAPTER X CULTURAL DYNAMISM AND ABNORMALITY 196
NOTES 227
BIBLIOGRAPHY 239
INDEX 245

PART I

THESIS

A Brahminocentric analysis
of Indian Culture

PROLOGUE

THIS STUDY can be approached from different angles. From the standpoint of social anthropology it is a study of the social function of religion and in the context of Indian conditions the questions to be put are "How did medieval Brahmanism contribute to the existence of Indian society as an ordered and continuing system of relationships among Indians?" "How did Brahmanism or Sanskritic Hinduism become such a strong and binding force among the inhabitants of modern India?" In answering these questions we are naturally led to the understanding of the "religious behaviour" of a group of people on the rest of Indian society, or in other words the social function of Vedic Brahmins on the social structure of ancient India. This is also the field of comparative and rural sociology in as much as it leads to the study of the role of Brahmins as the *soi-disant* highest caste of India in influencing and modifying the rest of the social structure and also conditioning the thought processes of the rest of society for centuries. [1] A connected study upto the present day, however, is the function of social psychology viewed from the angle of social control. The system of social control is best defined as "the pattern of pressure which a social group exerts to maintain order and established rules amidst a larger society" whose members are socialised through the gradual application of formulated techniques and made to conform to its ways.

This monograph is primarily concerned with an analysis of the various techniques of social control employed by the Brahmins from the dim past of India's cultural history upto the present day. No serious student of Indian life can deny that Hindu society with its institutional complex, as it is at present constituted, is the creative handiwork of the Brahmins. The major technique of social control employed by the Brahmins in ancient India has been that of cultural and ideological conquest*. The spread of religious and social inequality through the caste system is unmistakably their work and in modern times, in spite of the processes of democratisation of life and thought during British rule, they have consciously or unconsciously contributed to economic and political inequality among Indians†. The strength of the Brahmin cultural conquest may be assessed from the fact that in spite of far reaching political and economic changes in India they have succeeded in maintaining the totality of the separate castes within the framework of a religious community, the unity of which is provided by Hinduism as a system of ritual and belief with the Brahmin enjoying the primacy in every walk of life. It is suggested that the tendency towards Brahmanical ascendancy in every sector of public life in India has in fact accentuated since independence and that the efforts of the present Government in many sectors of social life may be interpreted in terms of the expansion of Brahmanical ideas and ideals to their ultimate goal. Of this we will refer to later in the course of this essay. The analysis of the ramifying and interlacing filaments of Brahmanism in our social tradition today will complete our sketch of the Brahmins' progress, careering from the unknown past like a shaft through the firmament of Indian history towards its decisive goal of the completion of the spread of Brahmanism throughout the sub-continent of India, encompassing the vast millions who are at present outside the pale of the caste system and affecting world thought through the sheer process of cultural dynamism. For, the genius of the Brahmin is to spread. The root of the word Brahmin is "*brh*" which means to grow or to spread. [2] The verb is *Brhmayati* and true to this morpho-

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*The term 'conquest' means the change or enlargement of an established group and/or its organisational activities by another group through coercion, by the use of economic sanction, by persuasion, by conversion or by a combination of two or more of these means. See Lapiere in *A Theory of Social Control,* p. 446.

† For the conscious and unconscious processes in the personality-formation of the Hindu see *The Twice-born: A Study of a Community of High-caste Hindus,* by G. Morris Carstairs, Hogarth Press, London, 1957.

logical meaning they have grown and spread their influence throughout India and even beyond its borders at certain epochs of their nascent energy, insulated themselves during times of alien invasions and conquest and reasserted themselves with the reinforced vigour of a group that has critically assimilated the best in the alien culture and attempted a synthesis for the acceptance of a renovated society where the traditional bonds of their leadership had been weakened and replaced by a liberal outlook and institutions, more in conformity with the civilised standards of modern society. But the Brahmin remains the same, relentlessly persuaded about his personal superiority as a human being—a potential superman as Nietzche found him [3]—and adamantly convinced of the need to secure his personal and class ascendancy over the rest of the people. From Parasurama to Pandit Nehru there is thus a single thread running through the social historical setting of Indian society and connected by the same zeal and *apostolic motivation* in order to teach, control and spread*.

There have been far too many studies on Hinduism but there have been very few which approach the study of the spread of Hinduism from the social psychologic and socio-anthropological standpoint. Nor is there any study which 'appraises the social and cultural processes of Indian society within the matrix of caste structure.' The lacuna was made up to some extent in a recent study by Dr. M. N. Srinivas entitled *"Religion and Society among the Coorgs of South India"* (Oxford, 1952). Srinivas divides Hinduism into four, viz., All-India Hinduism, Peninsular Hinduism, Regional Hinduism and lastly Local Hinduism. All-India Hinduism has an all-India spread and this is chiefly Sanskritic in character and embraces various groups of sub-cultures through the length and breadth of India. Peninsular Hinduism spreads over the entire peninsular part of India while regional Hinduism has a more restricted spread. Finally, local Hinduism is Hinduism with its spread confined to a local area e.g. Coorg, Malabar, etc. "In a very broad sense it is true that as the area of spread decreases the number of ritual and cultural forms shared in common increases; conversely as the area increases the common forms decrease. "Spread" might vary from different castes in the same village or town. Brahmins everywhere have much sanskritic ritual in common and this we call *"horizontal spread"*. A linguistic area is a culturally homogeneous area, relatively speaking, and the Brahmins in any linguistic area share some cultural and linguistic forms with all the castes including the lowest in that area. This type of spread common to all castes in an area has been termed *"vertical"*. [4] All-India Hinduism with its horizontal spread is the result of centuries of social control exercised by the Brahmins mainly in two ways, (1) the extension of sanskritic deities and ritual forms and (2) by the greater sanskritization of the ritual and belief of groups inside Hinduism. We shall study this in greater detail later on. But for purposes of analysis our study should start with the local Hinduism with its spread confined to a local area comprising several nucleated or dispersed villages and then successively lead to the study of the regional, peninsular and all-India phases of Hinduism. By a system of connected restatement of facts we shall have outlined the pattern of the basic processes of

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* This point is best interpreted in terms of what Prof. Arnold J. Toynbee says about the creative minority. "If the institution which we call a society consists in the common ground between the respective fields of action of a number of individual souls, then, we may take it that this is its constant and uniform consistency so long as it is in existence at all. In respect of this fundamental point it makes no difference whether the society happens to be in growth or in disintegration. In either of these two possible phases of social life *it is equally true that the source of action is never the society itself but some individual soul and that the action which is an act of creation is always performed by a soul which is in some sense a superhuman genius,* that the genius expresses himself like every living soul, through action upon his fellows and that in every society the creative personality is always in a minority and that the action of the genius upon souls of common clay operates more rarely by the perfect method of direct illumination than through the second best expedient of a kind of social drill which enlists the faculty of mimesis in the souls of the uncreative rank and file and thereby enables them to perform mechanically an evolution which they could not have performed on their initiative."

(See *A Study of History* Vol. VI. pp. 175-176 also Vol. III. pp. 224-248.)

Brahmanical social control and its agencies in India from medieval to modern times. And for this purpose we may reasonably assign an historical epoch, say, the first century B.C. as marking the period when the Brahmins made an all-out effort to put an end to the personal religion of the Indian communities and undertook the task of institutionalising religious worship and had thereby extended the social-status group system and recaptured their ascendancy. [5] The spread of local Hinduism is best studied in the South of India as the Brahmins during their southern adventure had already evolved their techniques of penetration and social control as a result of their successful debut and expansion in the Gangetic valley. For, there is no denying the fact that presumably they must have had perfected a system of social control already by the time they crossed the Vindhyas as otherwise it could not be assumed that large groups of socially integrated communities would succumb and collapse before their social and cultural conquest. This is not to gainsay that several large communities in different parts of India had offered resistance to the Brahmins in their cultural conquest. In south India, the Nayars of Kerala, the Reddis of Mysore and Andhra and the Chettis and Vellalas of Tamilnad had offered spirited resistance for a long time until finally they were engulfed by the waves of crusading Brahmanism at a time when these communities had themselves experienced social disequilibrium through historical or political circumstances. The details of these circumstances cannot be surmised now with any degree of accuracy. The situation therefore points towards the necessities of making special studies of every one of such communities on the lines suggested by Dr. S. C. Dube in his very interesting [6] book* *'Indian Village'*. And only the cumulative evidence gathered thereby can provide us with the data of the circumstances under which ancient Indian society, especially in South India, gradually gave way to the inroads of Brahmanical influences.

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* *International Library of Sociology and Social Reconstruction,* London 1955. Also *'India's Changing Villages,* 1958 by S. C. Dube. For an interesting paper on *Approaches to the Study of Complex Cultures* by Prof. S. C. Dube see Journal of Social Research. Vol. I, No. 1. Sept. 1958. For a different approach see *Networks and Centres in the integration of Indian Civilization* by Bernard S. Cohn and McKim Marriot, in the same issue.

The most important result of this process is the change introduced in the language and life-style of the Dravidian communities. A new synthesis of values also resulted which yielded scope for the gradual perversion of values by the Brahmanical status group*. With the increasing changes in language and life-style and their approximation to their Brahmanical counterparts through a sheer process of emulation (*mimesis*) Hindu society became an automaton—stimulus response system. All sustained awareness of the extraneous character of the new life-style was lost by the members of the community whose structure of behaviour tended to be automatic. Social habit systems of a fixed and unreflective character, resembling instinctive reflex responses came into existence through the adoption and practice of the ritual structure. The success of the explicit Brahmanical Culture was thus in a large measure brought about by the Brahmin priest.

Indian writers have all along been concerned with the explicit forms of Hindu culture. Enough has already been said and written about our cultural heritage. What is urgently required now is to extract out of that the implicit premises governing our life-style and language. And for this the first essential condition is to chalk out a different approach so that the totality of our culture can be viewed not only in its [7] generalized cultural forms but in its components of "background phenomena", which our psychic make-up normally disregard through lack of training and critical awareness. The approach adopted in this essay is thus a new approach—a *Brahminocentric analysis* of Hindu culture. The Brahmin is the central figure in Hindu culture. His cultural identity is something that has been established since the dawn of the era. But his social identity is still not established through the lack of the appreciation of the implicit premises of Indian culture. It is in this that the social control theory plays the greatest role, as the effective tool of analysis.

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*This point can be conceded only when one acknowledges the pressure and compulsive character of social values. "The pressure and compulsive character of values arise from the fact that it is society and man's social nature that create values. Because values are social products embodying intellectual judgements that are collective judgements, these compel individuals through helping them with appropriate mental sets and habits for action. Individuals discover in these judgements of value a ready-made ensemble of values, habits and ideal forms that overreach their personal achievement and that offer an easy and effective guidance to their complex adjustments in society."

(See Radhakamal Mukherjee in *The Structure of Social Values*, p. 50.)

CHAPTER I

LOCAL HINDUISM IN KERALA

MODERN KERALA is a recognised stronghold of Brahmanical ideas and attitudes. This is the result of a continuous historical evolution on Brahmanical lines for a period extending at least to one thousand and two hundred years. There are, however, strong evidences to prove that Buddhism prevailed over the entire length and breadth of Kerala and that Brahmanism began to take root in the soil only with the growth in prestige of the Nambudri Brahmins—the representatives of the pure Ṛig Vedic Brahmins. The colonisation of Kerala by these Ṛig Vedic Brahmins must have in all probability taken place during the Vedic age. But all evidences go to prove that they became a social force in ancient Kerala society only about the eighth century A.D. The immigrant Nambudri could not easily establish his social control in Kerala for the reason that there were a few socially integrated communities that offered them resistance in the matter of cultural fertilisation. The Nayars as a well-knit community with distinct cultural traits were the foremost amongst these communities.

Present day Kerala formed part of the ancient Cherai country. "Cherai" is the Tamil word for the Sanskrit word "Naga". There are far too many references in Sanskrit literature to prove that the Nagas were the oldest tribes in India before the Aryan 'invasion' with whom the incoming Aryans retained friendly contacts. A subsect of the "Nagars" or members of the "Naga" tribe who lived in Malabar may well have been called "Nayars" just as their confrers in the Nepal valley came to be called "Newars". Mahabharata (Karnaparva 2, XIV) speaks of the Newars among whom property descended in the female line as it once did among the Arattas, Bahika or Takhas of the Punjab whose sisters' sons and not their own were their heirs. The origin of the Nayars is a matter of lesser interest here than their antiquity as a tribe.

The foregoing remarks were necessary to prove the antiquity of the Nayar society of Kerala, not to speak of the other strata of Kerala society which came in for Brahmanical influence under the spearhead of Nambudiris much later and in a different way. Now we may ask why the Nambudiri Brahmin singled out the Nayar for cultural fertilization through *sambandham* unions and not the rest of the Kerala society. From the standpoint of sociological analysis the answer is simple. It was the Nayar community alone that was socially integrated and appeared itself to possess the requisite biological strength to benefit by the cultural fertilisation by the Nambudiris. In this connection I do not subscribe to the views advanced by E. M. S. Namboodiripad in his book "*The National Question in Kerala*" (Bombay, 1952), wherein he holds that a certain section of the Nayars themselves, may have become Nambudiris under certain circumstances. The fact that is most probable is that the Nambudiri Brahmin being very restricted in numbers exercised the same care for the propagation of his species as the wasp does for laying its egg by choosing the right type of worm sufficient to feed the egg throughout the chrysalis stage. This analogy drawn from animal biology is not with a view to spite the Nayars or Nambudiris but to focus attention on parallels in cultural anthropology. In terms of basic instincts there is very little difference between the two viz. the wasp and the man. The motivation of the incoming, inbreeding Nambudiri may have been the same as that of the Brahmins in the Gangetic Valley, that is to say that their cultural conquest may have been idealistic or one of calculated self-interest, both with the ultimate goal of expanding their ranks and strengthening their influence and following. Viewed in this light, the Nambudiri Brahmins of Malabar like their confrers in other parts of India must have been both "*ethnocentric*" as well as "*Ethnoexpansionistic*" even though this is an anomaly. However, a sociological answer can be given to this situation in the words of Prof. Lapiere:

> "Any idealistically motivated endeavour to conquer culturally the members of other groups and societies is thus sharply at

> variance with the monopolising aspect of ethnocentrism. Ethno-expansionistic as this anomalous phenomenon may be termed is like ethnocentrism in that it involves the assumption that one's own ways are *per se* superior to all other ways of life and that the circumstances one enjoys should be desired by all men. But whereas the former, leads to persevering the in-groups' monopoly on their distinctive cultural or other social attributes, the latter leads to efforts to induce members of out-groups to adopt the valued modes of conduct and presumably thereby to achieve something of status enjoyed by the in-group." [8]

Now then, what were the conditions that facilitated the "ethnoexpansionism" of the Nambudiri Brahmin in Kerala while he preserved his *ethnocentrism** intact? In any case this must have been *prima facie* made possible only through the prevailing social disequilibrium in Kerala society. And in this respect it is true of any other part of India, the Brahmanical penetration was rendered easier only through the social disequilibrium. Theoretically then we might ask why the Brahmins could not achieve a military conquest and achieve ethnoexpansionism on the lines of the Romans in the Colonies, or the Spaniards in Latin America or on the basis of something similar to the modern notion of the "white man's burden" in the Colonies? The answer is that Brahmins in the initial stages of their cultural conquest had only an intense apostolic motivation unaccompanied by the resources to organise themselves into armed bands. Indeed it is much later history when they were finally successful in entrenching themselves as a religious oligarchy within the kingdom of a "kshatriya" prince and goading him to undertake religious wars and expansion through "Aswamedhayagas". Similarly the Nambudiri Brahmin in ancient Malabar could have only attempted a peaceful cultural conquest through astute ways and not through force as he was himself bereft of the means to compel the Nayars to follow his ways except that of persuasion through example and precept.÷ Lapiere's theoretical

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* See Chapter on 'Concepts and Hypotheses'.

÷ The story of Parasurama is worth recalling in this context. He is supposed to have avenged his father's murder by overpowering the Kshatriyas by their own military weapons. Dr. G. S. Ghurye reads into the story the desire of the Brahmins to show that the Brahmin's assumption is thus proved correct in this context. He says:

> "On the whole, therefore, it would seem that those who strive for ascendency via cultural conquest are not only strongly motivated but are unable through limitation of social opportunities or peculiarities of personality to follow the normal channels of ascendency within their society." [9]

We may now ask the question how such a peaceful set of people, howsoever intense their apostolic motivation for the spread of Brahmanical Hinduism might have been, could have succeeded in becoming the "cultural conquerors" of Kerala in the real sense of the phrase? Here a word of caution is necessary. It would be wrong to assume that the cultural conquest of the Nambudiries started with the entire social group within which they found themselves in ancient Kerala. As in modern examples the success of their cultural conquest may have been initially felt only among those members of society "who were marginal in respect to that aspect of their own culture which the new would replace, as modern medicine would replace pre-scientific folk medicine, the Xian God whatever the local gods may be or the flush toilet the outhouse." [10]

It is logical to ask now, how the marginal groups amenable to Nambudiri Brahmin penetration came into existence among the Nayars? Firstly, the Nayars were a war-like community. They have all along been serving in the Chera, Chola and Pandya armies. Ancient Malabar was composed

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wrong would not go unavenged. Second, to impress the fact that the Brahmins if they took to arms, would prove themselves immensely superior to the Kshatriyas in warfare and last to humiliate the Kshatriyas." See *Caste and Class in India,* Bombay, 1957, p. 70. Dr. D. Kosambi's interpretation is equally interesting and is given below:

"The excessive and self-contradictory annihilation (of Kshatriyas) is clearly psychological overcompensation for Brahmin helplessness in the face of Kshatriya dominance. Parasurama is promoted in the Bhrugu inflated Mahabharata to the status of a Vishnu incarnation. The tension between priest and chief is an undercurrent in vedic literature thereafter, though both combined against the other two castes."

Dr. D. D. Kosambi in *An Introduction to the Study of Indian History,* (Bombay, 1956), p. 113.

of petty principalities ruled by Nayar chieftains who warred against one another on flimsy grounds and for self-aggrandisement. The numerous deaths and maiming caused by the internecine warfare must have left a marginal section among them discontented with their martial pre-occupation. Secondly, the Nayars without the Sanskritic social tradition of later days must have been but a tribe like any other tribe or rural community of Tamilnad such as the Vellalas. If the Nayars had any religion prior to the advent of the Sanskritic Hinduism it could not have been different from the simple personal religion of the rest of the Dravidians chiefly the Tamilians. Perhaps the only special feature may have been the serpent worship which was far more prevalent in Kerala than elsewhere as the presence of the serpent groves or the *Kavu* indicates. [11] At any rate it is patent that Nayars at the time of their partial acceptance of Nambudiri patriarchialism did not have any developed religion of their own nor any priesthood and that even though their language was but an ill-formed dialect of Tamil, formed through the phonological changes introduced by the immigrant tribes, [12] they did not benefit from the enlightened cultural heritage of the Sangam age as the cultural influences from across the Eastern Ghats were stemmed by the open hostility shown by the Nayar chieftains in assimilating outlandish influences. The attitude of the Nayars of Southern Travancore (a region least influenced by Nambudiris despite the traditions of the Suchindram temple and which hardly boast of one famous Nambudiri "Illam" or "Manai") towards the Nanchinad Vellalas [13] has been one of condescension even though the relations have been cordial. The absence of group tension must be explained by the fact of their having had almost identical social life without any marked cultural fertilisation with the Brahmins. Indeed the Pillais among the Nanchinad Vellalas appear to have undergone Sanskritic influence at the hands of the Tamil Brahmins and Kannada "Pottis" at a later stage so that they attained the status of "Ambalavasis" [14] and gradually merged into the same class of "Nayars" through inter-marriage. The "Pillais" among the "Nayars of Southern Travancore must therefore be considered originally to have been of Tamil extraction even though for reasons which can be historically adduced this process of "cultural fertilisation" at the lower reaches between two communities of almost identical culture appears to have come to an abrupt end since the beginning of the nineteenth century when Brahmanical ascendancy regained in vigour and led to the stratification of social classes in Travancore. [15]

At this stage we should revert back to our argument that, to start with, the Brahmins could only influence the marginal section of the Nayars and that their social control became complete only through stages across the long years of Kerala history and consolidated through the Kshatriya rulers and chieftains, whom the Brahmins raised in exceptional cases to Brahmanical status. Status or rank in the social structure of caste was conferred on a group by the Brahmins only in proportion to which the group voluntarily assimilated Brahminical cultural influences. There are parallels to this in other parts of the world where a religious oligarchy held sway, for example in ancient Egypt. The theoretical position is best stated in the words of Professor Lapiere as follows:

> "It is because the adoption of anything new demands some learning and the abandonment of some familiar device or at least established attitudes and values that only those individuals who are already discontented with what exists will be tempted by the new. For them to adopt the new, usually means, however, that they run counter to the norms of some, if not all of their status groups. Moreover if they persist in so violating the norms they may be excluded from those groups. The would be cultural conqueror cannot at the outset provide these marginal individuals with a new status-alternative. He says in effect 'I can heal your wound, assure you a place in heaven, protect your feet from sharp stones or teach you how to live longer and more fruitful life.' But he cannot offer them what they like, like every other individual want most—status among their kind." [16]

The penetration of the Brahmin into the Nayar society is a most interesting subject for sociological study. The practice of *thalikettu,* and *sambandham* unions if not introduced by the Nambudiri Brahmin, was certainly made popular by him and he enjoyed the *jus primae noctis* with the young Nayar bride and initiated her in her sexual life to come.* Further the system of polyandry and "Marumakkathayam" must have afforded easy opportunities for the Nambudiri Brahmin to enter the social hierarchy with the self-assumed role of the uppermost class. He was in many respects uniquely fit to play this role. He had knowledge of the Vedas and Shastras.† He was physically attractive to the Nayar women. His notions of *mantra, tantra* and knowledge of Ayurveda endowed him with the classic qualities of a cultural conqueror. The Nambudiri was naturally sympathetic in the extreme with those dissident groups of Nayars who were amenable to their cultural fertilisation. They would have gone to any extent in conferring on them higher status in the caste hierarchy except of course *"status among their own kind."* Thus the dissident groups of the marginal class spoken of above were given varying status by the Nambudiris as Brahmanical sub-castes, [17] upper class sudras etc. When the Brahmanical mythology was codified by the astute Nambudiris in "Keralolpathi", these castes were listed in the order of their precedence and a social structure of caste was introduced with hierarchical gradations. [18] All these were done in an effort to break up a socially integrated community and establish their Brahmanical social control. In this way the social disequilibrium of Kerala was completed by the Brahmins by the creation of marginal and sub-marginal groups within the fold of an erstwhile socially integrated community The fragmentation of social feeling that it led to in subsequent centuries with the multiplication of castes and sub-castes is too well-known and too common a characteristic of the other regions of the country, as to require any special mention. Reformist leaders such as Swami Vivekananda found Kerala a mad house full of castes and sub-castes of an endless variety. Until the beginning of the present century social reintegration of Kerala appeared to be an impossibility. But a matter of great significance is the fact that Nambudiris and their successors, the Tamil and Tulu and Kannada Brahmins throughout preserved their social status and continued to exercise social control through their religious stronghold of temples situated at all vantage points of the land. For centuries they controlled the lives of millions of people from their stronghold with the tacit approval of the former and without the least resistance either moral or physical.

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* Dr. Ayyappan, formerly Superintendent, Madras Museum and now Professor of Anthropology in the Utkal University does not agree with me on this interpretation. He would maintain that *thalikettu* was a *rite-de-passage*. For a different view viz. as an age-grade ceremony see Dr. M. S. A. Rao, in *Social Change in Malabar*, Bombay, 1957.

† A positive re-evaluation of the Parasurama traditions in Kerala history on scientific lines remains to be attempted. Dr. Gundert of the Basel Mission as well as Mr. Logan had done their commendable share in this direction. In the present context it is worth recalling that the Nambudiri Brahmin has been instrumental as a cultural conqueror in popularising Mantra, Tantra, and Ayurveda. For a balanced view see *The History of Malayalam Language* (In Malayalam) by P. Govinda Pillai, revised edition by A. D. Harisharma, Kottayam. For a more detailed and scholarly analysis see *History of Malayalam Literature* Vol. I by R. Narayana Panikker, Trivandrum.

What was originally a cultural fertilisation with the malcontents of a socially integrated community had thus eventually developed into a cultural conquest over the entire community. It is, however, wrong to think that the Brahmins through contact with non-Brahmins were unduly influenced by the latter to any extent in respect of cultural traits. In fact it never happened anywhere in India with the conscious acquiescence of the Brahmins themselves. It was the non-Brahmin who was influenced most by the Sanskritic modes of thought and mythology. Lapiere cites the similar example of another set of cultural conquerors viz. the protestant missionaries in China. It is a sound theoretical assumption when he concludes thus "*A cultural conqueror who draws towards himself the social malcontents of a comparatively stable community may in fact, thereby wall himself off from the rest of the community.*" How true this observation is when applied to the Nambudiris of Malabar! [19]

Kerala witnessed another batch of cultural conquerors in the Syrian Christians* [20] in her later history. They never came as "Cultural Conquerors" in the same sense as the Brahmins did in the beginning and paradoxically enough, they could not drive a wedge into the tactical operation of Brahmanical strategy. The socially integrated communities under the Brahmanical influence presented them with a barrier for conversion; in that group and they had therefore to content themselves with limited conversions among the groups outside the Hindu caste system, mostly the untouchables. The tradition of a few Nambudiri Brahmins having been proselytised by St. Thomas can be safely relegated to the background as a fact specially stressed on by the Christian Missionaries to obtain group sanction within the larger Hindu society exactly in the same way as the Nambudiris themselves had played up the Parasurama traditions and had suceeded. But unlike the Christian efforts at proselytisation, the cultural conquest of the Brahmins was a peculiarly intimate process in Kerala. It was in fact such wherever it took place in India. It required that not only the Brahmin to "understand and adjust himself to the values and sentiments of those that he wanted to conquer but also that he participated in many of their activities on a level as near as possible to equality". This was essential for the status-value without which success was impossible. Nambudiri Brahmins not only married Nayar women but also kept only Nayar servants at home and Nayar women in company of their women. [21] The relation thus established in the domestic sphere was not quite that of master and servant but that of inter-dependence based on status-value in order to enforce social control over the leading Nayar communities. This aspect of Kerala social customs also fits in well within the theoretical framework moulded by Prof. Lapiere:

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* I have seen an interesting summary of the study on caste distance and stereotypes among Kerala Christians. In terms of frequency

> "In effect the basic problem of cultural conquerors is to gain group sanction for what they wish to have adopted. Group

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of the traits employing the Likert's and Bogardus scale the following was the order (1) Marthomite Syrians, (2) Jacobite Syrians, (3) Protestant, (4) Chaldean Syrians, (5) Syrian Catholics, (6) Latin Catholics. See Narmadeshwar Prasad in *The Myth of the Caste System, Patna,* 1957. On *Nayar Polyandry* see the interesting study *Polyandry in Malabar,* in *Sociological Bulletin,* Vol. VII, March '58 and September, 1958 by Sri K. Raman Unni, of Baroda University.

> sanctions put social controls to work for them, whereas without such sanctions, the conquerors will be resisted by social controls in their efforts to establish the desired individual motivations, except in those instances where the individual is socially marginal or is an actual isolate." [22]

Now it is pertinent to ask a question. If the social control of Nambudiri Brahmins over Kerala society, chiefly the Nayar community, was so great and complete in all respects, how is it that they have not been able to retain their hold even today? The answer is simple. The Nambudiris like all other Brahmins in other parts of India could not survive economic changes brought about by the social dynamism of Kerala society through recent centuries. With their peculiarly closed joint family system, primogeniture and other inhibitive practices they could not adapt themselves to the exigencies of a rapidly changing phase of society under the impulse of western education and increasing interference of the organised form of government in their static way of life. Property relations underwent rapid changes since the beginning of the present century leaving them with restricted possibilities of possessing latifundia under the patronage of feudal monarchs. [23] Another important contributory factor was the biological degeneration that set into the Nambudiri families through the centuries slowly but steadily. The closed upper-class family system with its undue emphasis on primogeniture and contemptuous negligence of the sexual rights of female members by condemning them to life-long maidenhood if the Nambudiri husbands were not forthcoming to marry them, accelerated their degeneration. "A healthy upper class biologically is one which allows its weaker members to fall into the lower classes and which in each generation recruits the more successful members of the lower classes into its own ranks." [24] There have been instances in some other parts of India chiefly the Tamilnad where under the leadership of Ramanujacharya the Brahmins accepted vertical mobility as an article of faith for purposes of sheer survival. It was this more than the inherent strength of the group that permitted it to survive economic changes and adapt itself in some measure at least to altered modes of earning livelihood, different at any rate from their traditional mode of life as the priesthood. But the Nambudiri Brahmin of Kerala lacked the imaginative adaptability of his *confrére* in Tamilnad and consequently his days were numbered even during the first decade of the present century. [25]

An interesting aspect of the Nambudiri's downfall from the former social ascendancy was the disintegration of the Nayar Community. The Nambudiri Brahmin had already bequeathed to the Nayar the essentials of Sanskritic Hinduism even though he was never initiated into the esoteric knowledge of the Vedas or Vedic rites. But the cultural fertilisation was most fruitful and there is no denying that if individual Nayars who have settled down in a social milieu that materially differs from Kerala society, show dynamism under the altered conditions of today it is largely due to their Nambudiri ancestry which endowed them with certain precious biological traits essential for social advancement.* And yet, the progress of the Nayar community as a whole was also not uniform. Barring a few families there was also degeneration, if not biological certainly that of their ethos. A well-integrated community reduced to mangy proportions without the vigour of a united purpose or action, the Nayars were left divided into over 150 sub-castes without any vertical mobility for a long time. Indeed, had the upper classes and families instead of vaunting their purity of blood or closer links with Nambudiri Brahmins and the ruling chiefs as they did for a long time, absorbed the lower groups, it could have

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* This also raises the question of the desirability of inter-caste or inter-racial marriages. If Malabar is taken as a field of study I feel that intellectual leaders of society show a very decided preponderance of Brahmin blood in their veins. There is hardly anything like a pure strain of Nayars or Brahmins. However, the Nambudiri's union with the Nayar has been definitely a matter of social import for latter day society in Kerala. There is a parallel to this in the U.S.A. among Mulattoes with white blood who are superior to the pure blacks. For interesting comments on the biological effects of crossing See Chap. XXIV on inbreeding and cross-breeding in *Human Genetics and Social Import* by Prof. S. J. Holmes, New York, 1936.

"The matrilineal family organisation was perpetuated to a certain extent by the Nambudiri's peculiar rule of marriage. The Mâdras maintained its social structure and continued to be a powerful social group. For centuries the Nayars played second fiddle to the ruling Rajahs and chieftains by filling the posts in the army, police and the civil administration and the management of temples (Devaswam) to which they denied access to all the other Hindu and non-Hindu communities alike. [26] The absence of vertical mobility within a static village community did not in fact affect the Nayars so much as when the momentum of economic changes set in motion the regrouping of social forces with altered patterns of property ownership. The other important communities such as the Ilavas [27] and Syrian Christians took to trade and commerce and became prosperous within a short time, more prosperous in fact than all the landed gentry among the Nayars put together. This is a historical phenomenon for which there are parallels in other parts of the world, as for instance the Jews in Europe. The Parsis of Bombay are a striking example within the borders of India. In the words of a well-known economist "This is a development we expect to see in small immigrant groups who because of their religion or their race or some other difference merge neither with the upper nor with the lower classes and concentrate on making a living for themselves—the Chinese in South East Asia are another well-known example!" [28]

The main hope for the resurgence of the Nayar as a social group in Malabar is the progressive breaking up of the matriarchal family. The extended family or matrilineal family is ruled out in times of economic change. As Lewis says:

> "It is not possible to conceive of a man working very hard in order to make his sister's children rich rather than his own. But the matrilineal family does not survive easily in conditions of

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Nambudiri Act of 1933 forbade polygamy and thus the grip of the Nambudiris on the Nair family organisation was loosened. With the idea of self-acquisition growing among the Nairs and with the legal right to transfer their acquisition to their own children, the Nair is tending towards individualism. Patrilocality among the Nairs is on the increase and this is a serious blow to the *Tharawad* organisation."

See *Marriage and Family in India* by K. M. Kapadia, Bombay, 1955, p. 254.

> rapid economic or other changes, since change usually implies mobility and mobility usually strengthens the conjugal and patrilineal ties. A man who moves takes with him his wife and is children and so the matrilineal ties are weakened in any society where men begin to move about in search of fortune. [29].

The truth of this observation will be amply borne out by a study of the circumstances that led to the Nayar Regulation Act in Travancore and the Marumakkathayam Act of Malabar 1933* and its subsequent developments and also by a study of the emigration of educated Malayalis beyond the borders of their homeland and also beyond the frontiers of India to Iran, Iraq, South Africa, East Africa, Burma, Ceylon, Malaya and even to far off Sarawak and Borneo. In fact the circumstances were identical when the Nayars were recruited in large numbers to the Vijayanagar army. The wives of these soldiers may not have accompanied them in large numbers so that when they finally settled down in the empire they must have taken to local wives and forgotten their matriarchal tradition. This explains why the Nayars and Naidus, though of identical stock, have different social traditions today.† On the ruins of a collapsed matriarchal family in Kerala is rising up the solid structure of a rational patrilineal family strengthened by the process of vertical mobility through hypergamy within the group of sub-castes that the upper classes themselves have consciously generated. Yet it appears to be late in the day to be contented with their changed outlook. The biological degeneration of the upper classes had continued too long to be reactivated by the process of a vertical mobility through hypergamy within the group of sub-castes too unwillingly conceded as a belated means, for group-survival. It required over two generations for the present day Nayar gentry to realize the defects of their closed-in and static existence. Time was when the marriage of a Nayar from Northern Travancore (Vadakkan) within the fold of a Nayar family from Trivandrum was a matter of social comment. 'Vadakkans' (northerners) were increasingly in demand when the union produced a healthy patrilineal family and weakened the matriarchal system. [30] And it is this process within the compass of a small state that hastened the switch over from a matrilineal to a partilineal family. The Nayar communities of Cochin and Malabar have not reacted to this social change to the same extent as the Nayars of Travancore in this respect.* It is in this context that one should plead for the inter-marriage of the Nayars of Travancore with the cultured groups of families among the Izhavas and the Vellalas so as to be able to promote a vertical mobility and cultural fertilisation more in keeping with the socialistic tendencies of a progressive society and less susceptible to the vicissitudes of further accelerated changes in economic growth that such a society offers as a goal in view. The possibility of a third caste being formed as a result of these unions is remote under present day conditions. The Izhavas of Travancore and the Thiyya communities of Cochin and Malabar are in no way inferior to the Nayars. The clue to the psychology of the Izhava lies in his inability to obtain social acceptance on the basis of equality by the rest of the Hindu community chiefly the Nayars. This again is due to the fact that Nambudiri Brahmins did not bring them within the orbit of their social control through cultural fertilisation. The thought processes of the Izhava community as exemplified by the poetry of the famous Kumaranasan followed by numerous others as well as the teachings of Sri Narayana Guru (1854-1928) are all conditioned by this circumstance which is thus a parallel in local Hinduism to the developments under peninsular Hinduism among non-Brahmin communities under the leadership of the Bhakti cults during middle ages.

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* See *Land and Society in Malabar* by Adrian C. Mayer, Bombay, 1952, pp. 99-100.

† This hypothesis is yet to be proved. It is not merely based on the similarity in the names. As in the case of Brahmins, there are a good number of instances in which lower castes pretend to be Nayars. In the same manner, many lower castes in Tamilnad and Andhra Pradesh style themselves as Naidus. This is easier particularly when they migrate to distant villages or to towns and cities in search of jobs. An example is the "Nayar servants" employed in 'Brahmin hotels' of Madras city and Tamilnad.

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* See Adrian C. Mayer, *Land and Society in Malabar*, p. 27.

The intermixture of the Nayar blood with that of the Izhava and Vellala will synchronise with that awakening of Malabar society which is in the offing at present and also usher in a period of biological resurgence for the Hindu community freed of its Brahminical yoke.* Similarly the inexorable biological laws are bound to operate sooner or later within the supposedly well-integrated groups of Syrian Christians. The unity and strength of the church, a ramified business organisation and the strength and resilience born out of social exclusion for several centuries have bred in them a complacency that is at once suicidal and apathetic. Vertical mobility amongst them is generated today through competition and rivalry with the Hindus, chiefly the Nayars, and this cannot be for ever the motivation to retain its strength especially in the altered conditions obtaining at present. There is an organic need for the various Christian sects to fuse together and develop a secular outlook rather than feverishly attempt to strengthen the old bonds of a static and closed-in society. [31] The days of prosperity through plantation economy are fast disappearing and the Syrian Christians will have to join the ranks of the rest of the communities in the creative task of building socialism. The chances are that he will never be found wanting under any circumstance and freed from his burdensome religious complexes and also social complexes born of frustration, he would soar high with his creative talents.

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* For several centuries the Izhavas (also called Thiyas and Thandans) have been the most oppressed people in Kerala including the States of Travancore, Cochin and the former British Malabar. A most enlightened community, who resemble the Nayars in every respect, they had been singled out for oppression on grounds of caste both by the Brahmins and the Nayars. The fusion of the Nayar and the Izhava communities would have taken place long ago but for the fact that a social distance was artificially created by the Brahmin. The resurgence of the Izhava community in face of the perceptible decline of the Nayars, is an established fact. Their social disabilities during the last century is best described by Swami Dharma Theerthaji Maharaj as follows:

"The Izhavas who formed nearly seven lakhs out of the total Hindu population of 25½ lakhs (in Travancore State) in 1921 together with the other non-caste Hindus formed a large majority. They were kept out of temples, denied admission into the public service branded as untouchables without the free use of roads, public tanks and wells and other public institutions. In 1860 when Sir T. Madhava Rao was Dewan, one of them wanted to sit for the public examination for the selection of Vakils for the High Court and had paid fees. He was not permitted to sit owing, it was said, to the objection of the caste Hindus. Till 1895 the Government used to refuse admission to these people to the Govt. schools. In 1886 the British resident failed to obtain a place in the State service in Cochin and Travancore for a graduate, belonging to this community, who afterwards became a Deputy Collector in British Service."

See *The Menace of Hindu Imperialism*, pp. 204-206.

In a sociological study of local Hinduism such as the above, we have seen that the role of the Brahmin as a cultural conqueror was beneficial in the long run even to the socially integrated communities with distinct cultural traits of their own such as the Nayars whom they had made their target for cultural penetration. In concrete terms it conferred on Kerala society the unifying force of Sanskritic Hinduism, afforded opportunities for literary talent through the assimilation of the Sanskrit language and imagery, enriched the language and Sanskritised it to a degree as to render its modern equivalent look like a collossal outgrowth on the rudimentary dialectal variation of Tamil that it was prior to the sixth century A.D. [32] As a direct consequence of the above regional and peninsular and All India Hinduism found the door open for their inroads through mass communication media started under the modern centralised administration .of the British regime and perfected under the post-independence national government. The Brahmins' energetic role in the shaping of local Hinduism in Kerala, however, has spent itself out leaving the masses to take their destiny in their own hands. [33]

CHAPTER II

THE BEGINNINGS OF REGIONAL HINDUISM

In the previous part of this study we have been concerned with the concept of the *'Spread.'* We have attempted a sketch of the system of social control that the Nambudiri Brahmins had succeeded in establishing in Kerala and we have called it local Hinduism as it grew and spread amidst a socially integrated community with its focal point as the *"Gramakshetra"* or village temple. The development of local Hinduism thus represents a stage in the initial spread of Hinduism over a larger area such as for example a linguistically homogeneous area comprising a few or several nucleated and/or dispersed villages. But, whereas local Hinduism concerns itself largely with the evolving of the techniques of social control of a small socially integrated community, regional Hinduism encompasses wider groups and attempts an integration of the rest of society. The cultural conqueror's primary task is to socialize the strongest of the communities or tribes and render it adaptable to his ways of life, mores and group ideals. Once this is accomplished the cultural conqueror can have some respite as the newly converted group itself will forge ahead on its own in propagating the ideas of the cultural conqueror. The surest test of this is to assess the extent to which the new group would have socialized itself by adhering to the appropriate social ways from the force of social habit. Systematic adherence to the social ways of the cultural conqueror gives the group a cultural pattern if not wholly akin to that of the cultural conqueror but at least in the essentials. It all depends on the way the older group adapts itself to the new cultural pattern. A virile and socially integrated community, once it voluntarily or under the force of circumstances, adapts the new cultural pattern goes out of its way to make the adaptation dynamic. And this again will depend on its social character. We have seen that at the time of the arrival of the Nambudiri Brahmin in Kerala, the

Nayar tribe had found itself isolated from the rest of society with their peculiar social institutions and had already felt the need to relate its group life to something more concrete by way of values, symbols and patterns. No doubt the marginal element in the community may have felt this need to a greater extent than the rest and hence this element was susceptible to react in favour of the Brahminical intrusion, in their lives because of the former's superior knowledge and arresting modes of life and behaviour. However, when a ruling chief (*Naduvazhi*) or a village dignitary or head of an important family (*Karanavar*) belonged to this marginal element, the spread of the new ideas was naturally facilitated a great deal and there would be less of resistance. When the ruling chief or the head of a family acts on his own and accepts the new cultural pattern, he does so consciously in response to his psychological need for new ideas or modes of life. After all Brahmanical ideas would have never become powerful in ancient Kerala unless they conveyed definite answers to the specific human needs of the Nayar Community prominent in a given situation and a given social character. In the words of Dr. Eric Fromm a well-known social psychologist, the position may be summed up as follows:

> "The social character results from the dynamic adaptation of human nature to the structure of society; changing social conditions result in changes in the social character i.e. in the new needs and anxieties. These new needs give rise to new ideas and as it were make men susceptible to them; these new ideas in their turn tend to stabilize and intensify the new social character and determine man's actions. In other words social conditions influence ideological phenomena through the medium of character; character on the other hand is not the result of the passive adaptation to social conditions but of a dynamic adaptation on the basis of elements that either are biologically inherent in human nature or is the result of historical evolution." [34]

The dynamic adaptation of Brahmanical ideas by the Nayar community of Kerala took place through stages and covering a period of several centuries. Even then it cannot be said that the psychological resistance to Brahmanical ideas and intrusion into their social life came to an end. In fact it is quite doubtful if the Nambudiris could continue to impregnate Nayar women so wantonly for more than a few generations and within more than a few Nayar *Tharawads*. The diffusion of Nambudiri cultural traits during successive generations must have taken place through inter-marriage between families under Brahmanical influence and those without it. It is clear that the dilution of Brahmanical social tradition among Nayars must have taken place progressively in such a way as to render it palpably insignificant during the beginning of this century. Nevertheless, its total extinction was not brought about because the simultaneous spread of regional Hinduism had actually reinforced the flagging strength of local Hinduism. The vigour acquired by local Hinduism in this manner was something that consolidated the strength of local Hinduism. The vigour acquired by local Hinduism in this manner was something that consolidated the hold of Brahmanical ideas rather than institutions and ways of living. At a later date, the combined strength of the local cum regional Hinduism was buttressed by the advent of peninsular Hinduism and subsequently by the spread of all India Hinduism through different ways even in such regions like Kerala where geographical factors and political conditions normally acted as sluice valves to the admission of extraneous influences. It is thus that the loss in strength in local Hinduism has been largely made up by the spread of regional Hinduism in the first instance to be followed by peninsular and All-India Hinduism at different periods of History. We shall have occasion to revert back to this aspect of the enveloping of local Hinduism by All-India Hinduism when we deal with the characteristics of the latter.

What has been said about the social control of Brahmins through the spread of local Hinduism with particular reference to Kerala may be true in a large measure of other parts of India especially South India, where the problems faced by the Brahmin cultural conqueror were similar to those presented by the Nayar community. It may be true of the Vellalas, the Reddis, the Naidus and several other communities. Detailed studies have to be undertaken in regard to each one of such groups that offered resistance to the imposition of social control by the Brahmins. The important consideration here is to assess the extent to which these groups adapted themselves to the new situation either passively or dynamically. The Vellala or Reddi never allowed the Brahmin to enter into the family fold under the guise of a divinely inspired progenitor and to that extent the Brahmin did not succeed in breaking up the social system of these two communities. *The family is in essence the psychological agent of society and once it was kept outside the pale of Brahmin influence the group did not generally speaking have to succumb to Brahmanical social tradition.* Neither the Vellalas nor the Reddis had thus developed new habits as a result of their "passive adaptation" of the new cultural pattern which the Brahmins had attempted foisting on them. However, what the Vellalas or Reddis succeeded in averting within the family they could not avoid facing outside it. This was so because regional Hinduism was spreading at such a rapid pace, overpowering and assimilating everything that came in its way and rejecting as unholy and untouchable all those elements that did not subserve its crusading purpose of socialisation through social control. It is in this way that India came to have over 85 millions of people in modern times under the name of untouchables and depressed classes. It is in this context that we come to the brilliant thesis of Dr. Ambedkar which has so far remained uncontroverted through any better material evidence to the contrary. Ambedkar prefaces his thesis with the following remarks:

> "The Hindu civilization gauged in the light of these social products (i.e. untouchables numbering about 50 millions, the above regional tribes of about 15 millions, the criminal tribes about 20 millions.) could be hardly called civilisation. It is a diabolical contrivance to suppress and enslave humanity. Its proper name will be infamy." [35]

Viewed from the sociological standpoint, few can disagree with him in his contention that Hindu civilisation has been a diabolical contrivance of the Brahmins to exclude such vast masses of humanity from the orbit of their *beneficent* social control. The fact is that the Brahmins had in all probability attempted infiltration among the tribal organisation and that they had met with the stiffest opposition. This is evident from the several taboos still prevalent among the aborigines and untouchables as regards their attitude towards pollution by the Brahmin. [36] Local Hinduism could not spread among the tribal aborigines because their tribal organisation was far too strong to accept such intrusions. That is one of the reasons why a racial theory of untouchability cannot be advanced as the available evidence on ethnological grounds disprove any such hypothesis. "That the people of India were once organised on tribal basis is quite well-known and although the tribes have become castes, the tribal organisation remains intact. Each tribe was divided into clans and the clans were composed of groups of families. Each group of families had a totem which has some object animate or inanimate. Those who had a common totem formed an exogamous group popularly known as *gotra* or *kula* (in the north). Families having a common *gotra* were not allowed to intermarry for they were supposed to be descended from the same ancestor having the same blood running in their veins. Having regard to this fact an examination of the distribution of the totems among different castes and communities should serve as a good test for determining race as anthropometry has been." [37]

The study of totems was neglected in India because of the "current view propagated by the Census Commissioner that the real unit of the Hindu social system and the basis of the fabric of Hindu society is the sub-caste founded on the rule of endogamy. Nothing can be a greater mistake than this.* The unit of Hindu society is not the sub-caste but the family founded on exogamy. In this sense, the Hindu family is fundamentally a tribal organisation as the sub-caste is. The Hindu family in north India is primarily guided in the matter of marriage by considerations of *kula* and *gotra* and only secondarily by considerations of caste and sub-caste. *Kula* and gotra are Hindu equivalents of the totem of the primitive

* For an extended treatment of this point, see article on 'What is Caste, (II) Caste & Occupation by Dr. Iravati Karve in *Economic Weekly*, Vol. X., No. 12. 22, March 1958.

society. This shows that Hindu society is still tribal in its organization with the family at its base observing rules of exogamy based on *kula* and *gotra.* Castes and sub-castes are social organisations which are superimposed over the tribal organisation and the rule of exogamy enjoined by the tribal organisations of *kula* and *gotra.*" [38]

Ambedkar's analysis takes us farther into the past of Indian society through clearer paths than the work of any writer, Eastern or Western in this field.* By citing the example of the Fuidhirs of Ireland and Alltudes of Wales. Ambedkar demonstrated that the case of untouchables of India was not only the case of people living outside the village but that it also proved that in it was exhibited a universal phenomenon which was marked by the following features:

> (1) That in primitive times the village settlement consisted of two parts; one part occupied by the community belonging to one tribe and another part occupied by the *Brokenmen*† of different tribes.
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> (2) The part of the settlement occupied by the tribal community was regarded as the village proper. The Brokenmen lived outside the village.
>
> (3) The reason why the Broken men lived outside the village was because they were aliens and did not belong to the tribal community." [39]

The picture of the primitive tribal community in India is thus clear in its main outlines. It can easily fit into the reconstruction of the situation in any part of peninsular India before the advent of the Brahmins and the beginnings of local Hinduism. It was with the arrival of the Brahmins in the scene that further regrouping was started. The Brahmins could only penetrate into the tribe and exercise their social control through religion. If they had attempted bringing the Brokenmen also within the orbit of their social control that would have created conflicts between themselves and the socially integrated and partially aryanised tribe which did not admit the Brokenmen within its ranks. So then, the Brahmins had no other alternative but to leave the Brokenmen in their original conditions and remain consistent in the matter of this treatment. Later on, when the Brahmins as a religious group reorientated their techniques of social control, this attitude became more stiffer and exclusive, so that the Brokenmen, outside the pale of the tribal organisation under the full or partial control of the Brahmins came to be considered as untouchables. The attitude became one of downright hostility when the Brokenmen came to be absorbed within the fold of secular religions such as Buddhism and Jainism that came into being as violent reactions to the prevailing Brahmanical ascendency and monopoly in the matter of religious practices. It is in this context that Ambedkar's main propositions regarding untouchability are worth restating:

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* However, special mention must be made of the illuminating study of Dr. D. D. Kosambi *An Introduction to the Study of Indian History*, Popular Book Depot, Bombay, 1956. Dr. Ambedkar's books contained a great deal of powerful seminal ideas for research. It is a pity that the persons who copy and develop them do not generally acknowledge them even in a token fashion.

† Broken men means: "strangers or fugitives from other territories, men in fact, who had broken the original tribal bond which gave them a place in the community and who had to obtain and thus get on as best as they might in a new tribe and new place." Broken men were thus created at times of the disordering of society.

(1) There is no racial difference between the Hindus and the Untouchables.

(2) The distinction between Hindus and untouchables in its original form before the advent of untouchability was the distinction between Tribesmen and Brokenmen. It is the Brokenmen who came to be treated as untouchables.

(3) Just as untouchability has no racial basis, so also has it no occupational basis.

(4) There are two roots from which untouchability has sprung: (a) contempt and hatred of the Brokenmen, (b) continuation of beef-eating by Brokenmen after it had been given up by others.

(5) In searching for the origin of untouchability care must be taken to distinguish the untouchables from the Impure. All orthodox Hindu writers have identified the Impure with the untouchables. This is an error. Untouchables are distinct from the Impure.

(6) While the Impure as a class came into existence at the time of the Dharmasutras, the untouchables came into being much later than 400 A.D.

The foundations of what K. M. Panikkar calls "the parallel society" to Hindu society was thus laid by the Brahmins themselves. Here we come to the most important aspect in the development of regional and peninsular Hinduism namely its chronology. The period from 500 B.C. to 500 A.D. must be considered to have been the most momentous period in the cultural and religious history of India. It was during this period that Buddhism and Jainism were founded and grew in popularity among the masses with such great rapidity as to create consternation in the minds of the Brahmins. Students of Indian cultural history lay special emphasis on the second century B.C. as marking a turning point in Indian thought. Dr. Ambedkar for example interprets, the murder of the last of the Maurya kings, Brihadratha Maurya by Pushyamithra as meaning the beginning of a bloody revolution engineered by the Brahmins to overthrow the rule of the Buddhist kings. [40] On the social plane, this was the period when the Brahmins adopted a significant change in their strategy and made far-reaching improvements in their techniques of social control. This again is brought out clearly in the study of the origins of untouchability. Dr. Ambedkar stated that there were two sources for the origin of untouchability. One was the general atmosphere of scorn and contempt spread by the Brahmins against those who were Buddhists and second was the habit of beef-eating kept on by the Brokenmen. In *Mrichhakatika,* the famous drama of Sudraka there are passages mocking at the Bhikku. The Buddhist Bhikku was looked upon not with reverence but with scorn, as the member of a renegade order who was adored by the masses at the expense of the Brahmin priest. Secondly, the Brahmins made a supreme effort to render Bhikkus' influence innocuous on the psychological plane. One of the concrete steps taken by the Brahmins was thus to give up beef-eating which was so much dear to them, a practice which the people at large had resented under the influence of Buddhism. Ambedkar quotes *Aiteraya Brahamana* in extenso to prove that the Brahmins were confirmed beef-eaters.* Even Manu did not prohibit the slaughter of

* "Beef-eating was a normal article of contemporary Brahmin diet

the cow; on the other hand he made the eating of cow's flesh on certain occasions obligatory. "But Buddhism was deadly opposed to the sacrifice of animals. That in an agricultural population there should be respect for Buddhism and revulsion against Brahmanism which involved slaughter of animals including cows and bullocks is only natural." [41] Brahmins thus became vegetarians in order to regain their lost prestige and supremacy. In this they were imitiated by the socially integrated communities which were under their influence. This was followed by cow-worship and exaggerated emphasis on 'Ahimsa', (possibly as a concession to the widespread Jain influence among the masses,) whose potency as a Hindu concept attained the highest dimension in the ideas of Mahatma Gandhi. But even in vegetarianism the Brahmins were not content with a simple type. The Indian cookery is something as elaborate as Indian music and it has a definite Brahmanical complexity about it! Indeed the Brahmins in India form the best cooks even today just as they are best among statesmen and leaders of society. Brahmanical vegetarianism, however, did not influence the *'Brokenmen'* to any great extent even though a great portion of them might have given up voluntary killing of animals for food. The fact is that even the Buddha did not forbid the eating of beef, specially of dead cows, or the flesh of other dead animals and that explains why the Buddhist monks of today continue to eat meat of animals that they have themselves not killed.

Brahmin apologists of the present day have found fantastic explanations for justifying the Brahmanical crusade against Buddhism and one such is the pacific nature that the Buddhist teachings inculcated in the minds of kings and their advisers as also their soldiers, a tendency which proved to be wholly incongruous with the needs of the times. [42] Thus some historians attribute the pacificism engendered by Buddhist teachings as one of the causes leading to the fall of the Maurya Empire. As a matter of fact the same explanation is

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as appears from Atharva Veda on the necessity of giving away sterile cows to the mendicant Brahmin who could only have eaten them" Dr. D. D. Kosambi in *An Introduction to the Study of Indian History* pp. 128-129.

to some extent offered for the crusade of Shankara against the Buddhists in much later times which finally led to the extinction of Buddhism as a live religious force in India. [43] From the sociological standpoint, however, the disappearance of Buddhism was something inevitable under the Indian conditions. Primitive Buddhism represented the pure type of rationalism which aimed at the personal harmony of the individual within a peaceful social milieu free from conflict. The greatest weakness of Buddhism in spite of its great emphasis on ethical values, system of self-culture and self control, was that it failed to provide the anthropomorphic conception of God like Hinduism. [44] And to that extent it failed to satisfy the basic urges of the Indian mind. Indeed if only we look at the way in which Hinayana and Mahayana Buddhism developed and deviated from the original teachings of the Buddha we should be convinced of this fact. The greatness of Brahmanical revival with Shankara was that he pushed metaphysical speculation to the ninth degree and comprehended the religious truths of all religions for all times to come. But the Hindu revival after Shankara was not in keeping with his teachings. In their externalised form there was a great revival of the institutional forms of Hinduism, the strengthening of Hindu mythology and an unprecedented spread of Brahmanical ideas, uninhibited by rival notions propagated and other school of thought. And Shankara had successors if not of the same calibre but at least of the type who could interpret his ideas and expand on them and even expound new theories. [45] Shankara like Calvin was a product of his age. He had a regular role to play, that is the founding of a new metaphysical system which was superior to the previous systems of religious thought and practices and more satisfying to the needs of the time. Thus it is that we come to a sociological explanation for the new movement as follows:

> "A new religion (or a new metaphysical system) is a new combination of emotionally charged elements in exactly the same sense as a new piece of music is a new combination of notes and phrases which are emotionally charged or a new picture is the same. It is a work of art in exactly the same sense. Its formu-

> lator is an artist. He is moved by the impulses of his age which desires perhaps to explore some new ways of living and he removes conflicts in the way of satisfying this desire. A grand metaphisical system, for instance, Calvinism, is a great work of art in exactly the same sense as the *Divina Comedia.* Both arrange the symbolism and trigger phrases of christianity in new forms, the first, however, looking to produce news forms of action and the second to add to our fervour in the old worship." [46]

The relentless and unceasing efforts of the Brahmins to put down Buddhism as a religious force in India were solely calculated to regain their lost monopoly as religious oligarchy. Until the rise and spread of Buddhism, Brahmanical ideas and ways of worship had exercised such a complete control over the minds of Indian masses that they had been spared of the necessity to make any variation or adaptations for the sake of their survival. In fact they had intrinsically faced no competition in their religious business. We do not come across many powerful religious movements in Indian history before the advent of Vardhamana Mahabira and Gautama and the propagation of their teachings through regular monastic orders. The revival of Brahmanism under the spiritual leadership of Shankara was thus an effort to adapt Hinduism to the religious needs of his epoch when the survival of Brahmanical Hinduism was entirely dependent on the defeat of Buddhism and Jainism in the religious field. And it can be safely asserted that even though the present Government under the enlightened leadership of Nehru has decided to revive Buddhism they have not quite convinced the staunch champions of the revival of *advaita* philosophy about its necessity. [47] These latter can at best concede it only on grounds of political and diplomatic expediency. The Brahmins of the epoch of Shankara were less willing to compromise. Their refusal to compromise changed the historical process in India. Indeed there are parallels to this situation in the cultural history of Europe, for instance, in the growth and ascendency of the Catholic church. To quote Lapiere "As long as the Catholic church maintained its monopoly over the religious life of western Europeans, churchman could go their way in peace and the church could operate as a sluggish and unenterprising bureaucracy. But when new religious creeds and organisation began to appear and the monopoly of the church began to be broken, churchmen had to compete with dissenters for the faithful; and the church had to shake off its lethargy of the centuries." [48] However, the spiritual revival of Brahmanical Hinduism in India after the advent of Shankara was so complete during the subsequent centuries that we do not have very many parallel instances here of religious wars of the inquisition as in Europe. But there are sufficient historical evidences to show that the Brahmins used coercion throughout on the Buddhists and the Jains and that they have used every means at their disposal to spread their influence throughout peninsular India. It is perhaps unlikely that Brahmanical Hinduism, but for its resurgence during Shankara's lifetime and strengthening of its hold during subsequent centuries, could have successfully resisted the onslaught of the Muslim invasions. Indeed the strength and resilience of the Brahmin was demonstrated during several centuries of Muslim invasion, a fact which no serious student of Indian cultural history can fail to admit. [49]

The *Advaita* philosophy of Shankara was not suitable to the crowd. It is still beyond the comprehension of ordinary Hindus. How then could it have served as the instrument for the revival of popular Hinduism? [50] The revival of a personal religion in the form of *Advaita* philosophy was necessary to change the outlook of the thinking groups among the masses who were beginning to be drawn away by the attraction of more secular religions such as Buddhism. "Personal religion needs neither Gods nor any extended mythology beyond a small poetic content which serves to intensify feeling by giving it clear expression. Hence the vast bulk of mythology of all religious especially the heaven and hell they all contain—so obviously means social control—are the work of institutional religion. God's will is the moral law—the rules which are beneficial to society. [51] Now then let us not forget that originally the Dravidians had their own personal religion but it was not of the harmonious kind that the Brahmins introduced. When the Brahmins entered the Indian peninsula, ancient Indian society was composed of crowd units such as tribes without any developed religion of their own. The crowd was therefore full of psychic conflicts. The Brahmins, as we have already seen in the analysis of local Hinduism, were the crusaders or pioneers who organised that society for a rational end by institutionalising the personal religion and creating social harmony through their social control. As Creedy says, "*Institutional religion everywhere requires organisers who may aim at size, influence and power and may compromise with evil habits to get them*". [52] Thus it was that the Brahmins evolved a complicated mythology for the common people to follow. Like the early Christians they adopted many Buddhist and pagan festivals and details within the Brahmanical mythology in order to neutralise all resistance from the Dravidians. Thus we find Shiva, a dravidian deity, being cleverly incorporated into the Brahmanical pantheon*. So is the case with Muruga who was adopted as Subramanya. There are other instances especially of Dravidian religious rites and festivals being incorporated in peninsular Hinduism. Further the Brahmins consciously evolved complex theologies, rituals and ceremonials in order to make their polytheism as comprehensive as possible†. A study of Hinduism from the earliest times upto the rise of Buddhism will convince the reader of the strength and weakness of institutional Hinduism till that time. The chief weakness was the insincerity and selfishness of the Brahmins which we have already referred to in the first part of this essay as the anamalous tendency to be *ethnocentric* as well as *ethnoexpansionistic* at the same time. For, even though the Brahmins created the institutional religion for the masses they had not given up their personal religion. The *Manthras* for instance were not taught to the common people, not even to those members of the socially integrated tribes or groups who voluntarily or otherwise accepted the supremacy of the Brahmins. The ceremonials remained their exclusive privilege since the rituals and the accompanying esoteric knowledge were their sole possessions. It was this exclusiveness in ritualism and worship more than anything else that disgusted non-Brahmin seekers after truth. Gautama the Buddha was the foremost among them. Buddhist teachings as such became a powerful reaction against the corrupt practices of the Brahmins and inevitably led to the decline in the power and social control of the Brahmins as a religious oligarchy. Hence it was that the Brahmin revolted and successfully overthrew Buddhism. Now then any revival of Brahmanical Hinduism under such circumstances was thus bound to improve on the previous system and prepare itself for all the unpleasant eventualities of the future. It is thus that we find two phases in the post-Shankara development of Brahmanical Hinduism, viz., (a) the development of the highest form of personal religion and philosophy and (b) the development of institutional aspect of Hinduism in an unprecedented fashion. Let us, however, recall that both these developments were the outcome of the effective assimilation of Buddhistic ideas and practices so that the approval of the masses was easily obtained for the new form of religion, viz., popular Hinduism. On the personal plane the conceptual content of God not known or recognised by the Buddhist was re-emphasised and reinstated in Hindu thought in all its undying glory. This satisfied a great spiritual need of those times. From the social psychologic standpoint "whatever the conceptual content, there can be no doubt that the term "God" functions as one of our most powerful trigger phrases producing a feeling of reverence, of profound submission which anyone can feel who has been educated (conditioned) in a Christian (Hindu) home. The conception of salvation and of another world is a powerful aid to feelings in resisting the crafts and assaults of the crowd, ever seeking, ever persuading one to become its slave and reap its rewards. The purpose of the poetic or metaphysical structure of religious doctrine is to falsify our wills to resist the temptation of the crowd." [53]

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* For an interesting analysis see Dr. D. D. Kosambi on 'Syncretism in Cults,' pp. 40-41 in *An Introduction to the Study of Indian History*, Popular Book Depot, Bombay, 1956.

† This is characteristic not only of Brahmanical Hinduism in India but also of all higher religions. As Prof. Joachim Wach puts it:

"The history of religion as that of man's endeavours taken as a whole reveals the amazing latitude of meaning identical gestures and signs, acts and deeds can have. That is what Hegel and Wundt have called **'heterogeneity of purpose'** and what Spengler had in mind with his theory of **'pseudomorphosis of forms'**. Interpretation and adaptation in the course of time have altered, often decisively, the purpose and meaning of religious acts and forms and it is the task of the historian and sociologists to follow such changes and transformations with the keenest interest and try to explain them".

See *Sociology of Religion,* p. 380.

Shankara was thus in the sociological sense one of the greatest *crowd-exponents* that the world ever produced. He could have very well exclaimed "Behold, God has given me thought, I have discovered truth and you shall believe". It was thus that he brought about the formation of the ego-ideal in Medieval India and paved the way for the change of values and the remoulding of Hindu outlook. Since his time the Hindu society has not got tired of producing culture-heroes at various epochs and Pandit Nehru of our days may well be represented as a fine specimen of a culture-hero believing in the intrinsic worth of Hindu ways of thought and institutions. Well might we ask "Will he live long enough to complete the work left unfinished by Shankara, viz., the absorption of the Harijans and the tribal people within the general Hinduism?*

The development of the institutional aspect of Hinduism was a tremendous process embracing all fields of literature, architecture and art including music and sculpture. We do not like to go into the details here. [54] But it is most important to note that the development of institutional Hinduism restored within the period of a few centuries the powerful social control of Brahmins. The efflorescence of Sanskrit literature and the spread of Sanskrit to the detriment of Dravidian languages accelerated the spread of Brahmanical mythology and the strengthening of the ritual structure throughout peninsular India. For, let us not forget that from the socio-psychological standpoint the Brahmins have been the master creators of myths in medieval India and in fact they continue to be so in modern India as well. From the angle of our analysis, the mythology of ancient India is of the most vital importance as it represents the rules of living of the group in an allegorical form. In the words of Prof. Creedy "A myth is a dramatised set of rules expressed as the adventures of some hero who applies each word made appropriate to arouse attitudes necessary to the rules, by training starting in infancy; when carrying out the rules, their myths automatically rise into consciousness. This is called thought and is as automatic as our obedience to the rules. It is our ostensible reason for carrying them out, our real one being on account of our compulsive training we cannot help it". [55]

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* "With the breakdown of the parallel society, the Hindu social structure that will survive will not be the same for which Manu legislated and to which caste-society has clung for centuries. The absorption of the Harijans and the tribal people into the general body of Hinduism will mean he disappearance of chaturvarnya even as a conception. Hindu society such as we have known it at least from the time of the Buddha would then have undergone transformation more radical than that which the Buddha attempted and more comprehensive than that which Shankara conceived." See K. M. Panikker in *Hindu Society at the Crossroads.* p. 29.

A study of the spread of Sanskrit literature in the South after Shankara's lifetime, the various stages by which the epics and the *puranas* were translated into the provincial language should prove itself to be most rewarding. Brahmanical Hinduism in the post-Shankara period concentrated essentially on the spread of mythology and sought to give compulsive training to the masses through the ritual structure and caste gradations or *Varnashrama.* Thus we find that there was a revival of caste system accompanying the revival of institutional religion so that the social control of the Brahmins is once again reimposed over a society that had almost succeeded in unburdening itself of this yoke. A stage was soon reached when the masses could not live without the Brahmin and the Brahmin would not leave the masses even in their most intimate sides of crowd-life. Before long the Brahmins succeeded in isolating the upper classes from the rest of society and created it into an *automaton stimulus response system** under which the Brahmin conducted the orchestra and the masses automatically reacted to the tunes engendering harmony in their crowd life. Soon, an elaborate pattern of behaviour built up habituation through the medium of Sanskritic Hinduism. The superiority of Sanskrit as a vehicle or myths lay in the fact that it put forward not only "*trigger phrases*" to excite feelings and attitudes in the minds of the masses but also supplied a conceptual language carrying the message of a superior philosophy. The Brahmanical mythology had in fact *persuaded* the masses to accept it in a large measure without any earnest questioning about their rationale. Where the masses were found tardy in the acceptance or they had devised their own myths or continued to believe in their older social tradition, the Brahmanical social control had met with an initial setback. But the resilience of Brahmanical mythology was such that it soon engulfed them and bound them again with a syncretic and universal mythology which left no room for a dissident mythology or cosmology to survive. Thus we find that long before Shankara's victory over the Buddhists, the Buddha himself was made an *Avtar* of Vishnu and is mentioned as such in the *Matsyapurana*. And Shankara himself is now considered in popular Hinduism as an *Avtar* of God; perhaps it is logical to expect. that Mahatma Gandhi will also be canonised as an *Avtar* after a century or two, provided Brahmanical social control of Indian society regains its power in all its pristine strength.*

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* "Society is an organisation at any given moment of its existence and can be completely specified by the rules in force at that moment or what is nearly the same thing, the attitude (or readiness to follow rules) existing. These attitudes are impressed on us by the most elaborate training, starting in infancy which make it well-nigh impossible to conceive that there could be another way of acting. The Conception

A matter of the greatest importance is the fact that Brahmanical or Sanskritic Hinduism even after its revival in post-Shankara period prevailed only in a comparatively narrow corridor of Indian society and did not encompass several millions of people who happened to resist the Brahmanical

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of culture as being characterised by a group of attitudes or means-end readiness-readiness to aim at certain ends and as certain means to reach them. These attitudes may be expressed in words, by rules and are felt as values—it is important to do so and so". See F. Creedy in *Human Nature Writ Large*. p. 360.

* An instance of Prime Minister Nehru being worshipped as an *avtar* of Vishnu in a temple in Gujerat was commented upon by Nehru himself in Parliament and reported in the *Times of India*, Bombay recently.

social control in different degrees. Thus the chief difference between local Hinduism and the regional or peninsular Hinduism is the greater number of obstacles that the latter had put forward as a defensive mechanism against the spread of Brahmanical ideas and the imposition of Brahmanical social control. These obstacles came from more than one socially integrated community which developed social tradition which was on different lines than that of the cultural conqueror and which was in many respects superior to the social traditions of the Brahmins themselves. Such a situation did not arise until the Brahmins entered the South Indian planes chiefly Tamilnad where there was a rich cultural heritage long before the Aryan penetration. It is a fascinating study to unravel the strategic methods employed by the Brahmins to impose their social control over the Tamilians and how they relentlessly pursued their task of rendering socially integrated communities such as the Vellalas amenable to the passive acceptance of Brahmanical Hinduism. It is here that we come across the evolution of a series of techniques whose extension had ultimately led all India Hinduism to coalesce with regional and peninsular Hinduism while local Hinduism continued to flourish as a wheel within a wheel activating the entire mechanism of the social control of the Brahmins. The widening of the narrow corridor of the earlier Hindu society in order to extend the scope of the automaton-stimulus response system of Sanskritic Hinduism today is not so much the function of local or regional Hinduism as that of all-India Hinduism about which we shall discuss in the subsequent parts of this study Automaton conformity is brought about because the newly socialised members "cannot possibly know with certainty the motives, emotion and calculation that lie behind apparent conformity". *The various castes automatically conform to the Brahmanical injunctions, and religious rites and rituals because they are anxious to play their situationally imposed roles and stick to their group where they have valued status.**

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* "The structure of behaviour tends to be automatic—one does not think about it and one does not want to. As Edward Sapir has noted 'There are large sections of culture that act as a bar to the free exercise of the rationality. One may observe that adults have compromised

Dissolution of the caste system which thus mean the end of the social groupings and result in the atomization of society. This will be so at least in terms of the theory of the Hindu cultural system.

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rationality with their culture—and they resent a re-examination of these questions by their children' or as W. I. Thomas says 'Social habit system tend to acquire a relatively fixed and unreflective character, resembling instinctive reflex responses'.

Clyde Kluckhon on the study of culture in *Social Scientist and Research Policy*, p. 91.

CHAPTER III

TECHNIQUES OF SOCIAL CONTROL

THE SPREAD of peninsular Hinduism embraced both regional and local phases of Hinduism under the leadership of the Brahmins and reinforced their social control. In local Hinduism the field was necessarily limited and there was only one socially integrated community to be tackled and brought under control. There was bound to be in most cases linguistic homogeneity in the area. But in regional Hinduism the problems faced by the Brahmins were of greater dimensions, Even if there was linguistic homogeneity, there was bound to be more than one or several socially integrated communities with distinct cultural traits of their own who had to be brought within the operational orbit of Brahmanical social control. There was the resistance from developed notions of religious beliefs, myths and attitudes of worship which had to be faced [56]. In short the universe of action open to the status group was much wider than it ever was in the case of local Hinduism. The task of attaining group distinctiveness was then very difficult for the Brahmins with their limited numbers and consequently they have had to exert themselves utmost and imaginatively to evolve more efficient techniques of social control. It is not our aim in this study to go into controversies regarding the infiltration of the Aryan Brahmins into the South. There have been different schools of thought about it and material evidences from ancient Tamil classics have been adduced to show that the Aryan infiltration into South India began in the middle of the third millenium B.C. The essential thing for us is to note that the prevailing conditions of Tamilnad at the time of their arrival were something that baffled even the ingenuity of the Brahmins so that they could launch themselves on their social control only after a certain lapse of time after having completed their study of the Tamilians and their social institutions. How they proceeded on their steady efforts to bring the masses of Tamilnad under Brahmanical social control is the subject of fascinating study. We shall outline here the salient features of their techniques and try to draw parallels with their efforts in a geographically restricted area where local Hinduism was developed under their leadership, as for instance in Kerala.

Admission of kings to the Varna system

Historically it was the Tamil kings and chieftains who had invited the Brahmins in their midst for the performance of religious rites. Prof. P. T. Srinivas Iyengar, one of the rare examples of a Brahmin with the highest intellectual honesty states as follows:

> "When the Brahmanas settled in Southern India, and the ancient Tamil Rajahs desiring to secure the benefit of the yagas accorded to the fire priests a supreme position in society, the Brahmanas naturally tried to introduce their socio-religious organisation into the Tamil Society. But a religious oligarchy and a social democracy could not very well mix with each other. Hence the Brahmanas did not succeed in arranging the people of Southern India as members of the four varnas as they did in Northern India". [57]

The researches of another profound Tamil Scholar Dr. S. S. Bharati throw further light into the matter. He says: "Tholkappiyam speaks of the higher order of Brahmins as *Andanars* and of the secular Brahmins as *parpars*. The very fact that the rulers and noblemen in Tamilakam invited these priestly Brahmins to perform yagams for them and heaped honours and estate on them, as is admitted in the several verses in the old Puram or Aham collections, proves that these religious and social notions of the Aryans were not only known, but were not even averse to the Tamils of the Puram and Aham epochs. To aspire for the benefits of the yagams and to actually resort to their costly performances—a fact observed not only on the part of the Tamil monarchs but also among the noblemen in the country would reveal not a mere acquaintance with, but also a considerable assimilation of the Aryan practices and culture by the Tamils in the times of the Puram and Aham verses. . . . This in its turn should indicate that Brahmins must have lived long enough in Tamilakam from prior to this classic age to familiarise and persuade the Tamils to acquiesce in and partly adopt these Aryan notions. Books like Puranaruru and Ahanaruru, Pedirupattu and Pattupattu which the chronology assigns to an earlier pre-Tholkappiyam era, all of them bear testimony to the performance of Yagam by the rulers and citizens in Tamilakam, whereas Tholkappiyam has not a single reference to practice of yagam by any non-Brahmin Tamil. In this view, Tholkappiyam should imply, if anything, an earlier age when the Tamils might have been merely hospitable witnesses to the practices of the Brahmin settlers in their midst, quietly observing and good-naturedly not objecting to these Aryans having their own ways which were not the way of Tamils in those days". [58] The ascendancy of the Brahmins amidst a well-developed social system where they were themselves intruders required that they should obtain authority for themselves or the sanction of the rulers and chieftains for the spread of their ideas without facing material opposition. The task of the Brahmins who performed yagams for the Tamil rulers and chieftains must have been simplified in as much as these personages themselves began to be influenced by the Brahmanical ideas to a great extent and could not therefore prevent their Brahmin priests from slowly working their way into the masses through stages. But the masses could not be tackled successfully unless they were brought within the orbit of the status group system. The preliminary step to pave the way for this was to confer on the kings and chieftains themselves the honour of status so that their status consciousness remained unimpaired during the succeeding stages of the operation of social control technique when masses of their subjects were artificially compartmentalised and brought under the Varna system. Generally speaking, the technique of the Brahmins have been to admit the ruling chiefs to kshatriyahood but there are instances to show that under compulsion of circumstances, mainly to bring about vertical mobility in order to strengthen the ranks of their dwindling numbers, they have admitted certain ruling princes belonging to socially integrated communities to the "Bharadwaja gotra" and considered them as "inferior" Brahmins. Dr. Srinivas for instance speaks of the Lingayat Rajahs of Coorg who have been in former days "responsible for the Sanskritisation of the customs, manners and rites of Coorgs" [59]. This must have been due to the fact that these Rajahs were raised to the status of the Brahmins and were fired by the zeal for the spread of ritualistic Brahmanism. Let us remember that the Lingayats of Mysore even today consider themselves to be Brahmins and retain their socially integrated modes of life with considerable exclusiveness of spirit which is at once the strength and weakness of the Hindu society of Mysore today*.

Extension of the 'Varna' system

"Caste" said Maxweber "is and remains essentially social rank and the central position of the Brahmins in Hinduism rests more upon the fact that social rank is determined with reference to them than upon anything else". [60] The betrayal of the masses by the Brahmins began with the extension of the caste system to the multitudes of people who had never known anything like it. Ancient Tamilnad knew only classes and not castes. The entire population lived in five natural divisions of the country, viz., (1) *Kurinji* or Hills and hill-tracts, (2) *Mullai,* Forest glades and pastoral lands, (3) *Marutham,* Valleys and fields of arable lands, (4) *Palai,* Steppes or Stretches of deserts, (5) *Neithal,* Maritime tracts or coast lands on the sea board. The inhabitants of these lands were divided into seven classes as the caste system was unknown to them. We may quote another authority in this connection. Mr. Vedanayagam Pillai states as follows:

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* Dr. M. N. Srinivas writing in another context makes the following observation about the Lingayats of Mysore. "The Lingayats claim equality with, if not superiority to, the Brahmin and orthodox Lingayats do not eat food cooked or handled by the Brahmin. The Lingayats have priests of their caste who also administer to several other non-Brahmin castes. Such a challenge of the ritual superiority of the Brahmin is not common. The claim of a particular caste to be Brahmin is, however, more often challenged".

See A. R. Wadia, *Essays in Philosophy presented in his honour*, Madras, 1954.

As a rule without the express sanction of the ruling chief or authority and the tacit approval of the Brahmins themselves it has not been possible for a lower caste to pretend as belonging to a higher caste. "Thus the Bedas of Mysore would find it impossible to call themselves Okkaligas (peasants) or Kurubas (Shepherds) but they call themselves as Valmiki Brahmins. The smiths of the South India long ago, in pre-British times changed their names to Viswakarma Brahmins In British India this tendency received special encouragement during the periodical census enumerations when the low castes changed their names in order to move up in the hierarchy."

Ref.: Ibid. p. 364. Also pp. 76-84 on 'Nair polyandry'.

> "Turning to the other principle of classification, viz., calling or pursuit, we find early Tamil society parcelled out into seven classes, a division which by its very nature, applied only to towns and cities of great political, commercial and industrial importance and which had nothing to do with rural life dispersed as it was, into the recesses of the country or to the hamlets on the sea coast or to the homes in mountain fastnesses. If there were any region in which this advanced and artificial system prevailed, it was the *marutham;* for in the other *Thinais* there was little scope and less temptation for the dwellers to adopt their life to such a well-regulated and sharply refined stratified scale and the *Thinai Makkal* pursued all alike in their respective homes the same vocations in life and were engaged almost in similar sports, natural to the soil, consistent with the surroundings and congenial to the atmosphere". [61]

The question to be put in this context is: How did the immigrant Brahmins who had entrenched themselves in the courts of kings and chieftains succeed in changing the class divisions into caste divisions and create for themselves the enviable position of a status-group? The answer is given by Maxweber. "What is a Status-group?" he asks. "Classes are groups of people who from the standpoint of specific interest have been occupying the same economic position. Ownership or non-ownership of material goods or of definite skills constitute the definite *class situation.* Status is a quality of social honour or a lack of it and is in the main conditioned as well as expressed through a specific style. Social honour can stick directly to a class situation and is also indeed most of the time determined by the average class situation of the status group members. This, however, is not necessarily the case. Status membership in turn influences the class situation in that the style of life required by status groups makes them prefer special kinds of property or gainful pursuits and reject others". [62]

We have already seen that the two classes of Brahmins who were settled in Tamilnad were the *Andanars* or the highest priestly order and the *Parpars* or the secular order who followed some handicraft or some respectable professions. *The consolidation of the status in a class situation required that the positions of both of these orders were elevated in the caste hierarchy.* Hence, we find the frantic efforts of the Brahmins to clamp down on the Tamilians the caste system based on birth. It was easy for them to absorb the *Arivars* within the ranks of secular Brahmins as these people even though they did not form a distinct class had certainly high mental and intellectual attainments. But when they came to the *Vellalas,* a very vigorous and socially integrated community of Tamilnad they faced instant opposition. The Vellalas were a distinct class of people who were traditionally land owners, farmers and chieftains. [63] They were the cultivated inhabitants of 'Marutham' and possessed a distinct social tradition of their own. They were prominent in the kingdoms of the *Cheras, Chola* and *Pandyas* and at the time of Brahmanical expansion still retained their powers and prestige. In the Vellala therefore the Brahmin found the same obstacle as the Nayar of Kerala. Ingenuity demanded that the strength of this class had to be weakened through hypergamous unions just as the Nayar community was initially weakened by the Nambudiri's Connubium with the Nayar maiden. To what extent the Vellalas like the Nayars of Kerala intermarried with the Brahmins is a subject on which we have not much historical data. All the same the possibility cannot be ruled out that there might have been in the early days of Brahmin infiltration numerous intermarriages between the two communities as a result of which this socially integrated community gradually took to Brahmanical ways of living and customs. [64] Whether the adoption of vegetarianism by the Vellalas was through Brahmanical influence or was the continuation of an older tradition in conformity with their respect for cattle as a class of farmers and cattle owners, is a matter on which there are different opinions. It is also a matter for research whether the giving up of meat-eating by the Brahmins in Tamilnad had anything to do with their efforts to regain popularity with the masses in place of the Buddhists and Jains or simply to raise themselves up in the social ladder and to be in conformity with the acceptable standards of ancient Tamil society where the most prominent community of Vellalas were themselves by and large abstainers from meat.

Another interesting poser now is that if the Vellalas were then so powerful and that their position was so widely recognised over all the three important Tamil Kingdoms of Chera, Chola and Pandya why is it that the Brahmins did not confer on them Kshatriyahood especially as many ruling chiefs at that epoch may have been Vellalas themselves? The fact is that the Brahmins did not confer on the Vellalas Kshatriyahood exactly in the same way as they did not regard the Nayars as Kshatriyas even after having penetrated the Nayar household and produced many prototypes of their own kind. For it is a fundamental principle of Brahmanical strategy that even in the extension of the Varna system they were careful not to extend the dimensions of the upper castes unduly by the inclusion of powerful classes so that their own status-group stood the danger of being swamped by the former under some unforeseen eventuality or circumstances. Let us go back to the study of local Hinduism in Kerala. Had the Nambudiris raised the Nayars to Kshatriyahood, they would have outnumbered them very much and threatened them later. In fact the fiction of Parasurama's inveterate hostility to Kshatriyas may have been invented just to appease the dissident Nayars who after admitting the Namboodiri into the anterooms of his *Tharawad* and allowing love-play with the Nayar maiden, must have clamoured for Kshatriyahood in return! This must explain the way in which the Nayars themselves were subdivided into castes, the upper strata being closer to Nambudiris and enjoying the theoretical status of Kshatriyas and living up to that tradition by accepting fighting as a profession. The parallel is complete when we find that both communities were slyly brought within the fold of the Varna system and dubbed as '*shudras*' instead of as Kshatriyas which their social rank and position warranted. The unwillingness of the Brahmin cultural conqueror to admit the Vellalas to Kshatriyahood did not by itself constitute the reason for their not becoming so or being considered as such. *There was also the inherent difficulty in changing a class situation into a caste hierarchy that prevented such an elevation.* Few students of Hindu society can disagree with Prof. P. T. Srinivas Iyengar when he writes thus: "The scheme of four Varnas necessary to a people every detail of whose daily life from urination to cremation was influenced by the fire rite, could not well spread among Tamils, whose life for many milleniums previously was mainly secular and based on social democracy and among whom the Arya fire-rite, as it had lost its vitality before the Brahmanas migrated to Southern India, did not spread. It only led to the confusion of caste and the prevalence of social jealousies that have characterised the life of South India for a thousand five hundred years". [65]

It is not necessary for us to go to the details of the circumstances under which other socially integrated communities such as the Reddis, Chettiars etc. also came outside the pale of the caste-system and thrived during the several centuries assimilating Brahmanical ideas and never quite succumbing to the greater peril of the integration within a defined caste heirarchy.

Extension of Sanskritic deities

The extension of Sanskritic deities in Tamilnad took place in an unprecedented fashion. Thus local deities were given Sanskritic labels, local rivers were compared to Ganges; for instance, the Kaveri river was called "Dakshina Ganga". Dr. Somasundara Bharati, the greatest living authority on Tholkappiyam believes that "Muruga, Mayon, Indra, Varuna are the *Adidevatas* in the hills, pasture lands, urban and maritime areas respectively as much as in the Tamilakam" x x x "Verses in the Agam and puram collections, pattu-pattu and other Tamil poems do refer to one and all of these deities and always in special references to their favourite regional locations. Tholkappiyam simply reflects the myths and faith current in Tamilakam." [66]

Discussing 'the myth of Agathian and Tamil literature' Dr. Bharati points out that Agathian may have been in all probability a sage of the order of *Arivars* and adds thus: "The post-Tholkappiyam miracle — mongering credulity loved to weave around this hoary name many a legend that tickled its vanity or pandered to its new-fangled love for Aryanised lores. Metamorphosing Tamilian names into their fanciful Aryan mythical equivalents is a well-known process that started early and was long at work in Tamilakam. Familiar and significant instances are not wanting to clinch this truth. Who does not know how the Tamil *Muruga* came to be installed as the *Subramania* and how the Tamilian *Avai* was metamorphosed into the *Durgai* and *Parvathi* in the Aryan pantheon. Even *Mayon* and *Mal* are believed to be old pre-Aryân Tamil names subsequently identified with the later Aryan Sun god, *Vishnu*. In the course of aryanising Tamil culture in the post-Tholkappian Tamilakam, not only deities lost their Tamilian identity and got merged with some corresponding Aryan Gods but futile ingenuity never spared itself in finding even for many a familiar name of Tamil lands, river and persons, fancied Aryan correlatives and inventing elaborate heraldic pedigrees, in high sounding Aryan phraseology. *'Ven-kadu'* or white forest is transformed into *'Svetaranyam'*. *'Tan-Porunai'* becomes *'Tembraparni'*. The oldest Tamil dynasty of the *'Pandians'* derivable from the Tamil root *'Pandai'* meaning old is now linked with the Aryan *'Pandavas'*. Therefore, that the Tamil *'Agathiyan'* also could easily be turned into the Sanskrit *'Agasthya'* need not tax our faith very considerably." [67]

A local deity after being Sanskritised is generally given a dynamic quality or assumes it mostly under the circumstance that the devotion of a king enlarges its 'spread' to include the territory over which he rules. The example of Trivandrum illustrates this point. Another Vishnu temple in Southern Travancore at Thiruvattar considered equally sacred in popular lore becomes then the brother of the deity in

Trivandrum. An ancient 'Muruga' temple situated in the eastern ghats popularly known as "Ayyappa Swami" (also considered as Buddhist in origin) became Sanskritised as 'Shastha' and therefore the son of Vishnu. Deities are similarly married and the new relative assumes equal importance in a new place like the older deity whose spread encompassed the new also. The bride, of course, in this case is usually the Dravidian deity and the bridegroom is mostly Shiva e.g. the marriage of goddess Meenakshi of Madurai with Shiva. Thus patriarchal society gradually extended its domination over a matrilineal society that characterised ancient India prior to the advent of the Brahmins. Dr. Srinivas points out that regional Hinduism often contains some Sanskritic elements in which case it directly stresses regional ties and indirectly all-India ties. As an example he cites the identification of 'Subramoniya' with cobras in Coorg and in the Tulu, Telugu and Kannada cultures. Thus a regional phenomenon is drawn into an all-India or peninsular complex. Instances of this could be multiplied to any number. The truth about the matter is thus clear. The Sanskritisation of Dravidian deities was a clever technique employed by the Brahmins to capture the popular imagination and pave the way for the acceptance of Sanskritic rites and rituals by them. It is difficult at this stage to disentangle the original Dravidian or austric rites and rituals from the present day complex of Hindu rites and rituals with their emphasis on Sanskritic elements.* Vedanayagom Pillai rightly observes as follows:

> "In the course of time when the Aryan Brahman secured his foothold in Tamilakam and seduously setabout familiarising his notions of worship among his new friends it was soon found that there was so much in common between them that there began not a mere exchange but a regular fusion of the Aryan

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* The very word 'puja' (Tamil—Poo + chey) which is the keyword meaning worship is a Dravidian word. The use of turmeric and vermillion is also probably a practice borrowed from the Austric speaking proto-Australoid people. Ref. J. Przyluski on 'Emprunts anaryans en Indo-Aryan' quoted by Dr. S. K. Chatterjee in *Race Movements and Pre-historic Culture*. Chap. VIII., The Vedic Age, 1951.

> and Tamilian rituals and creeds which went on so rapidly and so completely that it is a puzzle to all the later historians to earmark the forms and rites of religious worship in Southern India which came of the Aryan source. Sacrifices known to the Vedic religion were grafted on to the Tamilian creeds as easily as they were made freely to imbibe the Vedic spirit in almost every other respect." [69]

In the extension of Sanskritic deities and rituals the Brahmin showed a consummate mastery of mass psychology. In doing so the Brahmin consolidated his social control a great deal better among the simple Tamilians than he could ever do in any other part of India. The humanization of deities was the first step for the creation of popular Hinduism.

Creation and development of ceremonial

Whatever one might say regarding the character of Dravidian rituals and ceremonials, during the pre-Aryan period, it can be safely asserted that they could not have been very elaborate and could not have afforded complete aesthetic satisfaction to the Dravidian mind. The fact is that Dravidian practices as known during the Tholkappian period as well as the pre-Tholkappian period about which we have very little knowledge may have been but the adaptation and improvement of pre-Dravidian religious practices. And yet it cannot be ruled out that the ancient Tamils who had such high conceptions of poetic symmetry and aesthetics could have failed to evolve ceremonials in their 'Koyils', appropriate to satisfy their religious urges. Be that as it may, the advent of Brahmin ceremonial proved to be not unwelcome to the masses in Tamilnad as is seen from the way in which they accepted it. Here again it must have been the chieftains and the rich landlords who would have originally met the expenditure and provided the articles for ceremonials so that the development of ceremonial as such could have taken place only simultaneously and as an integral part of institutional Hinduism. The superiority of Brahmanical ceremonials is its complicated symbolism. When the Hindu cosmology was completed the Brahmins lost no time in paying attention to the creation and development of ceremonials. Dravidian ceremonials like the ceremonials in all religions have had a magical or propitiatory character. But the mythology of the Tamilians before the pre-Tholkappian period was so rudimentary that it did not call for any complicated ceremonial. With the introduction of complicated Brahmanical mythology, there was the need to develop a complex system of ceremonial also and in this as in everything else the ingenuity of the Brahmins was not found wanting. Dravidian ceremonial aimed in all probability to bring about only a certain state of feeling by symbolic action under certain circumstances e.g. fire walking. [70] But Brahmanical ceremonial for the first time afforded positive means of aesthetic satisfaction which not even the impressive Christian Mass of later centuries could rival. In the language of sociology "ceremonial may become a means of aesthetic satisfaction in itself—a show in fact just like a ballet, designed by masters in the art of showmanship for the aesthetic pleasure of the beholders. Such ceremonial becomes complex and a great work of art of this character is not allowed to die but is performed again and again. Such a ceremonial is not only the promise and reminder of a way of life, but merely a means of pleasing eye and ear." [71]

The development of ceremonial gave rise to the development of the fine arts of dance, music and sculpture. It is not for us to go deep into these aspects of Hindu ceremonials or to assess the extent to which Aryan Brahmin ideas coalesced with Dravidian ideas and practices osmotically and produced the Hindu culture of today. What is important to note is the extent to which the Brahmins played the important role in developing these arts over a characteristically Dravidian base. It is common knowledge that they excelled in each one of these arts and continued to instruct the chosen disciples from among the non-Brahmins. [72] However, the intrinsic character of a leisure class such as the Brahmins were, did not leave them any desire to practice the strenuous varieties of these arts for long all by themselves. Architecture and sculpture *(Silpashastras)* were thus handed over to certain classes of people who conformed to their injunctions and abided by the unwritten rules of the caste hierarchy. In most cases the sastric knowledge was not passed over even to these persons while its practice was enjoined on them under a Brahmin preceptor. Thus in the long run we find whole sets of castes developing around professions like temple building, house-building and sculpture without knowing anything considerable about the theoretical basis of their practical knowledge as contained in the Sanskrit works. On the other hand, the less strenuous variety of arts or fine arts such as singing and dancing were cultivated by the Brahmins for all these generations so that both in Carnatic music as well as in Bharata Natya the best exponents are most generally Brahmins. [73] At any rate during the period when local and regional Hinduism flourished without undergoing the democratising influences of all-India Hinduism through state directed activities, or under the influence of pan-Indian movements, ceremonial and the ancillary cultural developments such as architecture, sculpture, music and dance were entirely cultivated by the Brahmins, assisted by a group of the dissident members of socially integrated non-Brahmin communities which came under their complete social control. An extremely interesting example to this is the development of the Kerala theatre and its influence on Malayalam literature. [74] Similar examples can be seen in all other regional cultures of India where nascent Hinduism took root amidst alien surroundings mainly due to the strength of the apostolic motivation of a small immigrant Brahmin group bent on spreading, teaching and controlling the receiving group or community.

The rise of plebeian mystagogues in support of the Brahmanical social tradition

With the development and reinforcement of institutional Hinduism there was a spurt of religious speculation and the creation of a class of Hindu mystics among non-Brahmin classes. In the words of Maxweber the entry of Hinduism in the plane "represented the ardent sacramental religiosity of the saviour and was borne by the lower strata with their plebeian mystagogues." [75] The history of the spread of local and regional Hinduism offers plenty of examples to the roles of such mystics who after the assimilation of Sanskritic culture and sacredotal lore translated them into the simple vernacular with a high proportion of Sanskrit words. The story of the development of devotional songs and religious poetry in South Indian languages, the rendering of the epics and puranas tell the same tale. Tamilnad had its Kamban while Kerala had its Ezhuthachan. Other regional cultures had their own plebeian mystagogues who assisted the spread of local and regional Hinduism. In fact during the period ranging from the 13th to the 19th century of our era there have been abundant instances of the rise of numerous sects of fervant votaries throughout India. In Maharashtra there was Namdev and Tukaram who as shudra saints practically simplified the methodology of attaining salvation through Bhakti for all the lower classes and castes. During the seventh and eighth centuries Tamilnad had the Alvars who were the Tamil saints of the vaishnava or Vishnu cult. It is the rise of the celebrated Alvars and the impetus they gave to Tamil literature that paved the way for the strengthening of peninsular Hinduism in South India during the later centuries. Alvars, however, were considered by the Brahmins as shudras even though the evangelical fervour shown by them was something that put the Brahmins to shame. [76] An interesting feature of the literary style of Alvars was their purism in Tamil about which we shall speak later under the head of Sanskritisation of languages as a means of extending the social control of Brahmins. The Bhakti cults of Northern India which sprang in later centuries had some broad resemblances to the southern variety only to the extent that it was carried to Northern India by the adherent of a sect founded by Ramanuja called Ramanand. [77] The rise of plebeian mystagogues and the Bhakti cult was thus in many respects a non-Brahmin reaction to the abstruse philosophical system of the Brahmins which failed to provide spiritual satisfaction to a society that had already been split up into castes with the Brahmin enjoying the highest rank as a hereditary status-group. According to an authority on comparative religion "it seems more scientific to regard Bhakti as the local form of a zone of religious life which had its own expression in Christian Europe and which arose naturally as the reaction from philosophy just as Methodism and pietism arose in Europe in the eighteenth century as reactions against rather arid philosophical systems." [78] It was but natural that the masses should revolt against arid philosophies which only the Brahmin could digest. And the Brahmin was conscious of this fact himself. And therefore whenever the Brahmins came across a Dravidian poet who could rise to the highest levels of philosophical speculation without losing the popular touch in the matter of language and imagery, they grew immensely jealous and attributed the non-Brahmin poet or religious seer a Brahmin parenthood, taking care to see that his mother was inevitably made out as a low caste woman. An irrefutable example to this strategy is the false stories spread about the great Tamil saint poet Thiruvalluvar. [79] From the angle of the social control of Brahmins, all reactions against their religious orthodoxy or the abstruseness of their philosophy were of a temporary character. *The reaction from a class against the status situation of the Brahmins in a particular place and under particular times and circumstances only led to the weakening of their position in that place for the limited period to which the reaction retained strength.* However, in the long run, it turned out to be beneficial to them as under fresh circumstances and new situations another class of people would again go back to the source of conflict for deriving new inspiration and also to evolve a more synthetic religious philosophy and develop a more syncretic Hindu outlook. [80] Another important thing to note is that these plebeian mystagogues in many parts of India even though they exploited the easy method of salvation and thus freed the shudras from Brahmanical domination in their spiritual life upheld the old order of the four castes including their own status of inferiority in the scheme. [80-A] Thus it is that we find that in spite of the several schools of religious thought, schisms and splits in the ranks of Brahmanical ideas throughout the length of the cultural history of India, there has been all the same inevitable fusion of Brahmanical ideas giving them a strength and endurance that it originally lacked before the spread of local and regional Hinduism. This is to be accounted for also by the rapid strides with which institutional Hinduism had spread among the masses in India so that it had become almost second nature for them to think of the Brahmins as a status-group with hereditary rank and unquestionably superior intellectual strength and resilience that was demonstrated through the centuries of India's cultural history. [81] Institutional Hinduism had already well developed during the beginning of the 18th century and paradoxically enough the function of all reformist movements have been to stress the value of the original Sanskritic Hinduism through the conducting of propaganda on a large scale and thus indirectly resuscitating the position of the Brahmins as the hereditary status-group in India.* Indeed even the British who had unravelled the strategy and operational techniques of the Brahmin group in India, had after all to leave the country, surrendering power into the hands of the self-same Brahmins whom they had detested in their heart of hearts. Their consolation however, may have been that these Brahmins had been anglicised sufficiently well so as not to harm their permament interests in the country.† It is otiose to elaborate here that their expectations have been duly fulfilled. There are popular sayings in Indian languages especially in the South which convey the sense that the Brahmins make good friends while as enemies they are more deadly than the deadliest of snakes! [82] This, however, is exaggeration on stilts but reminds one of the much-maligned Kumbhakonamite.

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* "Religion had become so generally the tool of the State—which meant the ruling classes that any protest had automatically to be expressed in the same ideological framework. The theological upheavals at whose foundations lay great changes of property relations show this just as clearly. Religion was the Brahmin's existence, serving the court because it held the surplus producers in its firm grip. Its chief social manifestation, caste, had been a great advance at one time in the formation of a peaceful society; with hardening of classes, the very same mechanism served to fetter society, to discourage innovations dangerous to those who profited from the status-quo."

Dr. D. D. Kosambi in *An Introduction to the Study of Indian History,* Popular Book Depot, Bombay 1956, p. 272.

† It is the English education that produced contra-cultural types even among the Brahmins so that we can notice a great difference between the orthodox Brahmin and the secular English-educated Brahmin of today It was Voltaire who first drew the distinction between the "Brahmanes" meaning thereby the priests of ancient times and the "Brahmes" of India under the British rule. Pandit Nehru, Prime Minister of India, is in this sense a representative of the 'Brahme' par excellence. His values, attitudes and motives being secular are strictly

Sanskritisation of names of places

The cultural conqueror when he finds himself in a virgin land inhabited by people whom he considers inferior to himself will naturally seek to name the places of the country according to his tastes and religious mythology. There are far too many examples to this in North and South America, South Africa and in short all over the colonies of Western European nations. A striking example is afforded by the French in the Reunion island where the entire island is studded with towns and villages named after catholic saints such as St. Paul, St. Gilles, St. Leu, St. Louis, St. Pierre, St. Andre, St. Marie etc. [83] The Brahmin cultural conqueror of ancient South India should have normally attempted doing the same. But the situation that confronted him was different from all his expectations. Place names in South India, in Tamilnad, Chera country or modern Kerala had a distinctiveness of their own in their indigenous quality that the Brahmins could not have attempted twisting the names and giving them a sanskritic colour. In fact Tamilnad is full of "self-suggestive and significant appellations of habitations" for example, *Agaram, Kottam, Kottai, Pallai, Puri, Oor, Patti* etc. [84] Place names ending in *Nagar* or *Nagari* or *Nagaram, Mangalam* are manifestly new creations under the influence of the Brahmins in Tamilnad. An analysis of place names in Kerala similarly show the faint traces of Brahmanical influence. There are

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speaking contra-cultural, i.e., contra-Brahmanical culture of the orthodox types. It is this deviant attitude born out of Western education that has made the orthodox Brahmins oppose him systematically even within the Houses of Parliament on various important issues of social reform.

only 15 *Mangalams* out of a total of 437 place names analysed [85] by one recent writer so that it is more than clear that the people could not be lightly persuaded to discard their age old place names and accept artificial appellations conferred on by the Brahmins. Here again it is important to note that a change of place name, a Sanskritic name in place of a Dravidian name, came about only with the express consent of the ruling chief who needed the advice of the Brahmin advisers cum priests in this matter. When new towns were founded by tribal chiefs the opportunity was afforded to coin a new name e.g. Thiruananthapuram (Trivandrum) which was originally an uninhabited tract of forest land. Here again the Sanskritic appellation was given after the presiding deity of the temple which was founded in the place. Examples of this type could be multiplied in other parts of India and the Sanskritic place names traced back to the localised influence of Brahmins in ancient times around the courts of kings or chieftains. In this context it is interesting to speculate why the British never attempted to give place names of their own in very large numbers in India which they could have done very easily during their administration. It was quite possibly the practical considerations tinged with a sense of idealism and concern for the masses in India that they did not attempt to transform the map of India by the artificial tagging of English place names on to Indian towns and cities. The modification of place names to suit the English pronunciation is something that actually facilitated their acceptance everywhere within a politically unified India. It cannot be considered as the sequel of a cultural conquest. Indeed, it was only in the hill stations or places where were developed wholly by the British and which did not possess place-names characterically Indian that the home-sick Britishers imported English names. Even these are few and far between while alterations of place names for euphonic symmetry like Simla for Shyamala have been more frequent. The spread of regional Hinduism had already involved the absorption of Dravidian deities within the Brahmanical pantheism through the transformation of their independent existence into a dependent family relationship with Sanskritic epithets. But the reasons that motivated the Brahmins to leave the place name untouched even after having successfully Sanskritised the deity, are to be sought in their overall strategy not to push ahead with Brahmanisation too far and offend the people. Besides Sanskritisation of Dravidian deities also followed on the basis of their selection and considerations of suitability on grounds of popular following already commanded by the deity. It was an imperative rule of the game that no Dravidian deity was to be admitted within the family fold of the Thrimurthis unless it had the intrinsic qualities in the eyes of the Brahmin priests to adjust itself in its new conceptual environment without creating friction. [86] Thus it is that we find the exclusion of such typically Dravidian village deities like Karuppan, Mariamman and Aiyanar from this privilege. It may also be due to the fact that these deities often demanded according to popular belief, propitiation through the slaughter of buffaloes, goats and sheep. It is unthinkable that the village or town where the 'Koyil' of such a deity was situated would ever receive the attention of the Brahmin priest. In fact his very admittance in the society of Kallans or Maravas must have been unthinkable in those early days of the spread of regional Hinduism. [87]

The Social—Self of the Brahmin

The techniques of social control outlined above are not exhaustive. They are the salient features of an all-comprehensive approach that the dynamic Brahmins had conceived and implemented at various stages of history. The cementing factor was supplied by the conscious propagation of Sanskrit with the mythological base that conditioned the thought-processes of the masses, particularly in South India. The infinite situations of culture-conflict that was inevitable in a movement of culture-contacts afforded the cultural conqueror opportunities of perfecting his methods based on a systematic understanding of the working of the mind and ways of the masses. With each success that attended his effort at cultural domination or assimilation the personality of the Brahmin also inevitably underwent transformation. His social-self acquired new characteristics. He began internalizing his new roles and acquired an impenitent conviction of his superiority. His ethnocentrism got hardened. His spirit of ethnoexpansionism assumed an apostolic character. The Sanskrit language supplied the substance to his belief in his personal superiority. The Brahmin syntality in India particularly in South India underwent a change through centuries that has very few historical parallels in the cultural history of other countries in the world.

H.H. RISLEY ON SOCIAL CONTROL AND MIMESIS

"Brahmanism knows nothing of open proselytism or forcible conversion, and attains its end in a different and more subtle fashion, for which no precise analogue can be found in the physical world. It leaves existing aggregates very much as they were, and so far from welding them together, after the manner of Islam, into large cohesive aggregates, tends rather to create an indefinite number of fresh groups; but every tribe that passes within the charmed circle of Hinduism is inclined sooner or later to abandon its more primitive usages or to clothe them in some Brahmanical disguise. The strata, indeed, remain, or are multiplied; their relative positions are, on the whole unaltered; only their fossils are metamorphosed into more advanced forms. One by one the ancient totems drop off, or are converted by a variety of ingenious devices into respectable personages of the standard mythology; the fetish gets a new name, and is promoted to the Hindu Pantheon in the guise of a special incarnation of one of the greater gods; the tribal chief sets up a family priest, starts a more or less romantic family legend, in course of time blossoms forth as a new variety of Rajput. His people follow his lead, and make haste to sacrifice their women at the shrine of social distinction. Infant-marriage with all its attendant horrors is introduced; widows are forbidden to marry again; and divorce, which plays a great and, on the whole, a useful part in tribal society, is summarily abolished. Throughout all these changes, which strike deep into the domestic life of people, the fiction is maintained that no real change has taken place, and every one believes, or affects to believe, that things are with them as they have been since the begining of time. It is curious to observe that the operation of these tendencies has been quickened, and the sphere of their action enlarged by the great expansion of railways which has taken place in India during the last few years."

"The leading men of an aboriginal tribe, having somehow got on in the world and became independent landed proprietors, manage to enrol themselves in one of the leading castes. They usually set up as Rajputs; their first step being to start a Brahman priest, who invents for them a mythical ancestor supplies them with a family miracle connected with the locality where their tribe are settled, and discovers that they belong to some hitherto unheard-of clan of the great Rajput community. In the early stages of their advancement they generally find great difficulty in getting their daughters married, as they will not marry within their own tribe, and Rajputs of their adopted caste will of course not intermarry with them. But after a generation or two their persistency obtains its reward, and they intermarry, if not with pure Rajputs, at least with a superior order of manufactured Rajputs, whose promotion into the Brahmanical system dates far enough back for the steps by which it was gained to have been forgotten. Thus a real change of blood takes place; while in any case the tribal name is completely lost, and with it all possibility of accurately separating this class of people from the Hindus of purer bloods, and of assigning them to any particular non-Aryan tribe. They have absorbed in the fullest sense of the word, and henceforth pose, and are locally accepted, as high-caste Hindus. All stages of the process, family miracle and all can be illustrated by actual instances from the leading families in Chota Nagpur.

"A number of aborigines embrace the tenets of a Hindu religious sect, losing thereby their tribal name and becoming Vaishnabs, Ramayats, and the like. Whether there is any mixture of blood or not will depend upon local circumstances and the rules of the sect regarding inter-marriage. Anyhow the identity of the converts as aborigines is usually, though not invariably, lost, and this also may therefore be regarded as a case of true absorption."

"A whole tribe of aborigines, or a large section of a tribe, enrol themselves in the ranks of Hinduism under the style of a new caste, which, though claiming an origin of remote antiquity, is readily distinguishable by its name from any of the standard and recognized castes. Thus the great majority of Koch inhabitants of Rungpore now invariably describe themselves as Rajbanshis or Bhanga Kshatriyas—a designation which enable them to represent themselves as an outlying branch of the Kshatriyas who fled to North-Eastern Bengal in order to escape from the wrath of Parasu-Rama. The claim descent from Raja Dasarath, father of Rama. They keep Brahmans, imitate the Brahmanical ritual in their marriage ceremony, and have begun to adopt the Brahmanical system of gotras. In respect of this last point they are now in a curious state of transition, as they have all hit upon the same gotra (Kasyapa), and thus habitually transgress the primary rule of the Brahmanical system, which absolutely prohibits marriage within the gotra. But for this defect in their connubial arrangements —a defect which will probably be corrected in a generation or two as they and their purohits rise in intelligence—there would be nothing in their customs to distinguish them from Aryan Hindus, although there has been no mixture of blood, and they remain thoroughly Koch under the name of Rajbanshi.

"A whole tribe of aborigines, or a section of a tribe, became gradually converted to Hinduism without, like the Rajbanshis abandoning their tribal designation. This is what is happening among the Bhumij of Western Bengal. Here a pure Dravidian race have lost their original language, and now speak only Bengali; they worship Hindu gods in addition to their own (the tendency being to relegate the tribal gods to the women), and the more advanced among them employ Brahmans as family priests. They still retain a set of totemistic exogamous subdivisions closely resembling those of the Mundas and the Santals, but they are beginning to forget the totems which the names of the subdivisions denote, and the names themselves will probably soon be abandoned in favour of more aristocratic designations. The tribe will then have become a caste, and will go on stripping itself of all customs likely to betray its true descent. The physical characteristics of its members will alone survive. After their transformation into a caste, the Bhumij will be more strictly endogamous than they were as a tribe, and even less likely to modify their physical type by intermarriage with other races."

"There is every reason to suppose that the movement of which certain phases are roughly sketched above, has been going on for many centuries, and that, although at the present day its working can probably be most readily observed in Chota Nagpore, the Orissa hills, and parts of Eastern and Northern Bengal, it must formerly have operated on a similar on a simliar scale in Bengal proper and Behar."

"The tendency to imitate the usages of the higher castes, which has been remarked in Behar and Chota Nagpur, operates much more strongly in Bengal proper and Orissa. In Orissa, for instance, the Goalas take a higher position than in Behar, and rigorously prohibit widow remarriage. Throughout Bengal the Kaibarttas, though ranking below the Nabasakh or group of thirteen (formerly nine) castes from whose hands an orthodox Brahman can take water, marry their daughters as infants, and forbid their widows to remarry. In Dacca the gunny-weaving and mat-making Kapalis, and the Chandals, spoken of in Manu as 'the vilest of mankind', have given up widow remarriage, and the practice appears to be confined to the Gareri, Rishi, Coch-Mandai, and other aboriginal and semi-aboriginal castes. Similar evidence of the gradual spread of practices Rajbanshis of Rungpore, people of distinctly non-Aryan type, who have abandoned their tribal name of Koch in recent times, now pose as high as high-caste Hindus, and affect great indignation if asked whether their widows can remarry. The Paliyas of Dinagepore, also demonstrably Koch, fall into two sections—Rajbansi Paliyas and Byabahari, or 'common' Paliyas. The latter practise widow remarriage, but are beginning to be ashamed of it, and in this and other matters show signs of a leaning towards orthodox usage. The former are as strict as the extreme ignorance of the 'fallen' Brahmans who act as their family priests admits; and as education spreads among them, they will go on continually raising their standard of ceremonial purity."

"It is clear that tendency of the lower strata of Hindu society is continually towards closer and closer conformity with the usages of the higher castes. These alone present a definite pattern which admits, up to a certain point, of ready imitation, and the whole Brahmanical system works in this direction."*

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*See H. H. Risley in *The Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, Bengal Secretariat Press, Calcutta 1891.

CHAPTER IV

SOCIAL CONTROL THROUGH LANGUAGE

Sanskritisation of Dravidian languages

LINGUISTIC RESEARCH both in India and abroad has been owefully found wanting on the subject of the spread of Sanskrit in India and the interaction of Sanskrit and Tamil cultures. This is no doubt due to the preoccupation of foreign scholars with the Indo-Aryan group which led to the great negligence of South Indian languages. [88] Be that as it may, Indian and Western scholarship is now agreed on the fact that the Sanskritic culture of modern India is largely a syncretic culture with the Dravidian elements predominating in it in an imperceptible form. The spread of Sanskrit in India has been a solw process and preliminary researches into the linguistic prehistory of India have already revealed the great extent to which the Dravidian languages exercised a great impact on Sanskrit and vice versa. [89] From the standpoint of our study, we have to examine how the Brahmanical status group reified their language. Reification of the Sanskrit language was necessary before it was advanced by the Brahmanical group to guide the thinking of the non-brahmin masses. The situation had already been prepared by the spread of Brahmanical mythology, the extension of Sanskritic rituals, ceremonials and deities and also to some extent by the change in place names. There has been a rapid growth in importance of the Sanskrit language side by side with the growth of each phase of the spread of regional Hinduism so that the Brahmins themselves had come to believe in the need for reifying the sacred language—the language of the Gods par excellence. Reifying here means in the language of sociology *"reducing by interpretations, including definition of the terms of the construct, to the concrete to specific rules of conduct"*. [90] Let us remember that Sanskrit as its meaning indicates was never a spoken language and that it was only a purified version of the language that was in popular usage such as Prakrit, and that its refinement and the codification of its grammar in an unalterable form was the work of grammarians like Panini. It is quite simple to concede that unless this reification had taken place the value of the language as a vehicle for the spread of Brahmanical ideas and rituals in their pristine purity would have been reduced to nullity in the long run, as the universal tendency of the masses is to deviate from a fixed cultural standard and devise simplified versions of their own. As professor Lapiere says, "A language is a system of cultural definitions whereby meanings are assigned to a great variety of specific verbal sound combinations thereof and among a literate people, graphic representations thereof. But the members of the society seldom speak or even write in terms of the culturally designated definitions. They speak and write in some special vernacular which differs both quantitatively and qualitatively from the official language—i.e. from the language as embodied among a literate people in dictionaries, manuals of grammar and the like". [91] The maintenance of the purity of Sanskrit language since the days of Panini until the present day is a wonder of wonders that is largely to be explained by the tenacity of the Brahmin to preserve it as such, as the sacred language of status-group even though their spoken language was, by and large, the local languages or a mixture of the two. This is not to admit that early Sanskrit before its reification did not borrow words from Dravidian languages and made them its own. As a matter of fact detailed research in the linguistic prehistory of India is bound to reveal many instances for such a fusion of Tamil words into Sanskrit, especially that style of Sanskrit which came to be used for limited secular purposes. In a sense the reification of any other great language also takes place on the same lines. It would be interesting to speculate how far the ancient grammar of the Tamil language, Tholkappiyam, was an improvement on the pre-Tholkappian Tamil language or shall we call it pre-Dravidian? How is that the ancient Tamils at the Tholkappian epoch felt the needs to codify their language and write out such a scientific treatise on grammar? The motivations must have been to safeguard the system of cultural definitions that prevailed at that epoch and prevent the unguided and rebellious outgrowths of meaning for words following the recognised rules of semantics. [92] The author of Tholkappiyam must have clearly discovered the unwritten laws of change in the meaning of words that the ancient Tamil language underwent so rapidly so that he may have decided to codify the set of rules that are contained in Tholkappiyam to serve as a guide for future grammarians and writers. To what extent the present day Tamil is different from the Tamil of Tholkappian epoch is a subject for intense study by Tamil scholars; but it is undeniable that the semantic principle of expansion was at the root of this difference and that the growth of the modern version of Tamil through the centuries was only in response to the needs in the growth of society itself when words had to expand, restrict or transfer their meanings and adjust themselves to a new situation and convey new meanings in a changed society. [93] The purity of Sanskrit since the days it assumed its present grammatical shape is to be explained by its static state, as the restricted and sole vehicle of a sacerdotal class who jealously preserved it from the corroding influences of non-Brahmin languages. This they did out of fear as experience had already taught them that in the mutual impact it was Sanskrit that stood the chance of loosing its integrity and getting assimilated with the "Paisachi" language which was widely prevalent in the subcontinent of India at the time of their arrival. So then, true to the spirit and apostolic motivation of cultural conquerors they set about to conquer the speakers of the language but also the latter's language itself. There is a hymn in the Rigveda which expresses this wish most solemnly and which may have been recited by countless generations of Brahmins, "May we conquer the ill-speaking man". [94]

According to Mr. Oldham there are ample evidences to show that the so-called "Paisachi" language was spoken throughout India. He says "It is evident that the old Sanskrit Grammarians considered the language of the Dravidian countries to be connected with the vernaculars of Northern India; and that in their opinion it was especially related to the speech of those people who as we have seen, were apparently descended from the Asura tribes. Thus in the Shahasha Chandrika Lakshmidhara says that the Paisachi language is spoken in the Paisachi countries of Pandya, Kekaya, Vahlika, Sahya, Nepala, Kuntala, Sudarsha, Bota, Gandhara, Haiva and Kangana and there are Paisachi countries. Of all the vernaculars the Paisachi is said to have contained the smallest infusion of Sanskrit". [95]

A great student of Hinduism and of contemporary Hindu society, Dr. K. M. Panikkar has something equally interesting to say:

> "The distribution of the indigenous races even today in the uplands of South Bihar and in the eastern areas of Madhya Pradesh and the persistence of the Bhils in the Aravalli and Vindhya ranges show that as a population movement the Aryan invasion ceased to have any momentum after it reached the gangetic valley. The gradual spread of Hinduism all over India and with it the Aryan speech should not blind us to the fact that even in North India outside the Punjab the Aryans contributed only a racial strain. In Gujerat and in Maharashtra the neo-Aryans were able to improve their language but in the Deccan and in the South, the Dravidian speech not only held its own but was able to drive out the Austric and other linguistic elements. The spread of Aryanism and Sanskrit, originally associated with Agastiyas' crossing of the Vindhyas became, an accomplished fact only in the first centuries of the Christian era as may be seen from the earlier Paisachi tradition of the Satavahana Emperors of Pratishtan". [96]

Now we may ask: what could have been this Paisachi language other than the Tamil of pre-Tholkappian epoch? Indeed, the author of Tholkappiyam (who is considered to be a Brahmin himself) felt as much nervous about the vigour of Sanskrit or more possibly Prakrit as the Brahmin Aryans felt consternation about the richness of this "Paishachi" language. In spite of this, it is evident that the two languages could not continue side by side in certain regions without influencing one another for their mutual benefit. Hence it is that we find that rules have been laid down in Tholkappiyam for the adoption of Sanskrit words under certain conditions and subject to certain rules while Prakrit itself normally absorbed certain Dravidian features. As Prof. Murray B.

Emenau points out: "Whenever two language communities come in contact and remain in contact for any appreciably long period the languages have some effect upon each other's structure. Borrowing of words in one or the other direction or in both is the most obvious effect. But there may also be a shift of sound systems, borrowing of derivational or inflectional morphems or borrowing of syntactical traits". [97] A matter of considerable importance to note is that Sanskrit may have been purified in its present form because of the susceptibility of Prakrit, its predecessor to absorb Tamil words. Another European authority Dr. J. Filliozat is worth quoting in this connection. "Even much later, in the first half of the first century of Christian era when appeared the first dated Tamil inscriptions, those of Virapatnam—Arikamedu near Pondicherry, Sanskrit was not yet current in Tamilnad as the inscriptions in an Indo-Aryan language found along with the Tamil inscriptions are in Prakrit. These inscriptions are no doubt very short and very few but we can at least be sure that they are exactly comparable with those of Ceylon at the same epoch; here also middle-Indian was employed and not Sanskrit. The characters of these inscriptions around the beginning of the Christian era are the same and very similar in their shapes to the ancient Brahmi of Asoka, giving supplementary evidence of the importance of the contribution of Asoka's empire to the cutlure in the South".

"If we now consider the ancient Tamil works, we find in almost all some allusions to vedic or Brahmanic rites and the use of some Sanskrit words though very few. When Indo-Aryan words are adopted in Tamil in Sangam literature they are more frequently borrowed from Prakrit forms or with Prakritic features. Surely Sanskrit and Prakrit cultures were known to some extent in Tamilnad but rather through Prakrit than through Sanskrit. Massive influence of Sanskrit in Tamil literature took place much later". [98] Scholars are agreed that mutual changes in two language communities are brought about by the speech habits of bilingualism practised by the members of those communities. This was true equally of immigrant Brahmins of South India who may have used the Prakrit and Tamil languages at the same time while retaining the classic Sanskrit only for ritualistic purposes as well as for teaching their own kind. The story of the spread of Sanskrit in Tamilnad is of lesser concern to us in this essay than the analysis of the way in which it formed part of the spread of peninsular Hinduism in response to the implementation of the Brahmanical theory of the social control. Now going back to the base of our theoretical structure viz. local Hinduism we find that Sanskrit language spread through ritualistic practices introduced by the Brahmins in the "Gramakshetra" or village temple. Ritualistic Sanskrit was mostly poetry and it was poetry in the form of *Manthras* and *stotras* that first caught the profane ears of the non-Brahmin temple worshipper. [99] These *Manthras* and *stotras* were resonant with sonorous words and phrases and so replete which imagery that when recited aloud they seldom failed to evoke strong feelings of devotion in the minds of the hearer who knew the mythology behind this majestic poetry. Here lies the beginnings of the social control of the Brahmins through a language which was reified and strengthened to suit their purposes.* This situation more than anything else offers the key to the diffusion of Sanskrit through successive generations of Indian cultural history when the symbolism inherent in the original *Manthras* and *Stotras* spread in ever widening circles and became the common heritage of the Indian masses—those Hinduized masses who finally became an automaton-stimulus response system of modern days. *The Nambudri Brahmins or the Tamil Andanars were strictly speaking behaving as classic cultural conquerors when they reified their language and began teaching the rudiments of it to the members of the socially integrated communities whom they had already infiltrated through other ways which were all the same religious at their roots.* As Prof. Lapiere says, "The induction of an individual into an established status group involves among other things, teaching him the special word meaning mainly through example through the use made of the words by the members of the group; and the meanings so learned are far more vivid and vital than any prior meanings that he may have learned by parental or other definition".

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* Prof. Joachim Wach in his *Sociology of Religion* (See pp. 380-381) explains this point in an illuminating fashion. "The *'word'* spontaneously uttered or recited as a formula used for its numinous effect or for conveying of definite meaning has ever had a particularly strong effect upon the minds of men. The magician knows this and murmurs his 'carmen' or spell-word; the tribal 'priest' knows it and recites the sacred tale. The preacher knows it too, and thus the comforting word, extemporaneous address, the exhortation becomes one of the most powerful means of religious 'propaganda'. From the primitive narratives and myths which the guardian of the sacred tradition tells his audience to the elaborate homilies with which the Christians, the Hindu and the Buddhist preacher edifies his congregation the oral and written word wins and unites souls. This effect does not necessarily depend on logical and convincing argumentation only. Numious syllables, sacred sounds and ecstatic utterances may have a more cumulative, animating stirring and electrifying influence. The psychology of the revival meeting in primitive and advanced civilization proves that music has been used all through the ages to enhance the effect of religious rites. its power has been so great that fear has been felt that it might confuse the religious meaning of the message it illustrated and has thus aroused at times harsh and violent protests; (Calvin, Kierkegaad and Tolstoy) yet the most primitive groups as well as the sophisticated congregations

"By their very nature, the meanings given to words by a status group reflect the activities (and hence, the norms, value structures, rites etc.) verbal and otherwise of the group itself. The group that is to say uses words and languages as a whole as a tool, as a means of accomplishing and of justifying its otherwise determined ends. In many but not all, instances the status group takes over from the general language words having approval value and attaches them to its own operations." "Along with the selections of a limited vocabulary and the redefinition of some word meanings, there is usually some tendency on the part of the status group to develop and maintian special ways of speaking—a typical sentence, structure, inflections, pronunciations and the like. The result is a more or less pronounced status—group parallel to regional dialect. The cant of race track habitues and the jargon of governmental bureaucrats are marked examples of this universal tendency of all social groupings status and otherwise, to

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of a modern metropolis uses song and instrumental music to create and sustain the mood of the assembly".

shape the culturally provided language to the special needs, interests and ambitions of the group". [100]

The profound psychological truths contained in the above words can be brought out in more concrete terms by applying them to the spread of Sanskrit in modern India. As was pointed out earlier the spread of Sanskrit began with the recital of Sanskrit poetry rich in resonant poetic forms and phrases, e.g. Vedic hymns, *strotras* such as that by Shankaracharya. [101] These verses with their suggestive and powerful words were so much in contrast with the soft and liquid sounds of the non-Aryan speeches that as compared to the former, the equivalents in the latter failed to evoke any feeling in the crowd. For what is the function of words in the language of feeling? We shall quote Prof. Creedy another social psychologist in this context and provide the right answer:

> "Feeling is expressed and communicated by trigger phrases which have been associated with certain feelings by training in childhood, the details of which have been forgotten".
>
> "This language of feeling changes in part at least very rapidly. The trigger phrases which are just passing out of use are cliches. The fact that they are highly standardised in form shows that their action is not due to their conceptual content when any, but that they are single symbols acting suggestively or by habituation".
>
> "When phrases are carefully kept for the precise kind of feeling for which they are appropriate and not used indiscriminately their currency may continue indefinitely without their becoming cliches."
>
> "Poetic language is language rendered allusive by these trigger phrases". [102]

The strength of the Sanskrit hymn lay in the words and phrases. Herein lies the genesis of the prejudices which the Northerners with a more virile speech entertains on the linguistic plane for the Southerners whose mellifluent language is nothing but jibberish to the speakers of the north. All the major Indian languages of Northern India contain the highest percentage of Prakrit or Sanskrit words and phrases. And yet it is the presence of a high percentage of these trigger words and phrases derived from Sanskrit in the Southern Indian languages that has brought about the possibility of evolving a common *lingua franca* for India so that the selfsame trigger phrases, symbols and the feelings aroused by their constant usage could actively help the promotion of national unity by the diffusion of nationalistic ideas and also pave the way for success of the reform movements in Hinduism. If the present Government has chosen Hindi as the generally acceptable official/national language of India, it is because of its intrinsic worth in their eyes as the language that is most typical in the matter of the profusion of Sanskrit words which is capable of reflecting the status group activities of the government *"as a means of accomplishing and of justifying its otherwise determined ends"*. In fact historically also the growth of Hindi, despite its variations, has taken place in the Gangetic valley in such a way as to retain the purity of sense and meaning of Sanskrit words. This will be further seen by a study of the semantic changes that have taken place in Sanskrit words after their absorption in other regional languages. Viewed in this way, it is also clear why many orthodox Hindus are not willing to accept Hindustani as the national language because it contains a large strata of words from Persian, Arabic and Turkish which were spoken by former cultural conquerors. The adoption of Hindustani as the official language in place of Hindi would not be in keeping with the Brahmanical revival that is making itself prominently felt in India during the post-Independence period. In short we have in India what Prof. Creedy has aptly called the "language of feeling in social tradition". The Sanskrit language has been the effective vehicle for the spread of trigger phrases in Indian thought. These trigger phrases have entered into all the main languages of India including Tamil and they govern the thought processes of the average Indian in town and country. The reaction to the trigger phrases is greater within the Hinduised sector of the Indian population which thus form the automaton-stimulus response system. The Tamilians who are aware of the extraneous character of these words and phrases react adversely, in fact violently, to all attempts at the imposition of Hindi—simple Hindi—or

Sanskritised Hindi as the national/official language. But the truth is that the spread of nationalism or decentralized state activity is not possible in India unless this automaton-stimulus response system of Hindu society is extended further to embrace all sections of the people who are outside Sanskritic influence.* The average educated man in India, especially a Hindu cannot easily recognise the *trigger phrases* and words in his emotional language of everyday use as these seem so much natural to him through habituation. The unconscious habituation of centuries has made their artificial use a matter of second nature for him. In fact without these trigger words and phrases he will face a psychological impasse in finding the correct word or a substitute word or phrase which is free from Sanskritic influence. Indeed, only a rich language such as Tamil can afford to stand on its own in this matter. The sector of public opinion which is painfully conscious of the inadequacy of even Tamil in this respect therefore favours the continuous use of English and that explains why the Government themselves have agreed to this while others are feverishly attempting to enrich the regional language of Hindi with further artificial borrowings from Sanskrit, English and other regional languages in the diminishing order of importance.

Now then going back to the initial spread of Sanskrit as the language of the Brahmin cultural conqueror we have to ask one question i.e. how is it that Sanskrit spread so rapidly and influenced the thought processes of the masses while it started only as the language of ritual? The answer is simple enough. With the growth in power of Brahmin priests in their temples there was also the growth in their importance and influence in the courts of kings and chieftains. The Dharma Shastras were incorporated into the *puranas* at a time (about the middle of the 4th century A.D.) when the Brahmins acquired the position of a status-group within the cast hier-

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*This is the thesis of the brilliant study by K. M. Panikker entitled *Hindu Society at the Cross Roads,* see pp. 94-102. See also his oft-repeated views on the importance of spreading Sanskrit paralleled by the views of K. M. Munshi. 'Our Inheritance—Sanskrit' by K. M. Panikker in *Indian Inheritance* Vol. I, Bombay.

archy. [103] The rest of the developments in the field of ritual ceremonies and extension of deities we have already outlined earlier. The gradual stages by which Sanskrit became powerful in the South is best described by Dr. Filliozat:

> "After the increasing use of Sanskrit in the country borrowings of Sanskrit words gradually became more numerous but the Tamil genius continued to follow its own ways in accordance with its own well-fixed rules. Technical Sanskrit texts chiefly of *Ayurveda* and *Jyothisa* were frequently but not always or not exclusively inspiring Tamil compositions. Apart from these the most known Sanskrit texts were, it seems, works not belonging to exclusively peculiar schools but works of wide popularity like *Bhagavadgita* as we can trace some echoes of Gita in songs of Tamil saints. The works of these saints, Alvars and Nayanamars were compiled, it would seem, chiefly during the period of the Pallava and Chola splendour. In these hymns or poems we frequently find Sanskrit words or allusions to ideas contained in Sanskrit literature but they use chiefly ordinary Tamil words without special technical meaning. Their songs are devotional songs, not philosophical compositions. But in their very time philosophical speculations on vedantic subjects began to be greatly active among Dravidian authors studying Sanskrit books like Upanishads and Brahmasutras and commenting upon these in Sanskrit. The illustrious Sanakaracharya (circa 800 A.D.) was thus a Sanskritising Dravidian (Nambudri) and one of the most eminent contributors to Sanskrit philosophical literature and following his example we see Sanskrit literature in Tamilnad not entirely imported from the North to the South but partly created in the South itself".
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> "The new Sanskrit literature of the South grew quickly and spread to the North having of course at the same time a large influence in the South itself. Thus when Tamil continued to be cultivated in accordance with its own traditions it received a double dose of Sanskrit influence from outside and inside. That led to an increasing popularity of Sanskrit studies in Tamilnad and to the introduction of an immense number of Sanskrit words into the Tamil language, even doubling some Indo-Aryan words already adopted on a middle Indian form".
>
> "The development of philosophical speculations led also to a great effort at reinterpretation of Tamil works of religious interest according to the various views of Vedantic circles. Thus began for example, an exegesis on the hymns of Alvars chiefly Nammalvar. Almost every word of *Thiruvaymoli* was examined and interpreted in Sanskrit by many successive commentators with the

> strongest tendency to find in it at any cost a meaning in accordance with the technical Sanskrit Vedantic vocabulary. All the literature in *Manipravalam* thus substitutes such a vocabulary to simple Tamil words, just partly preserving the Tamil morphological structure of phrases. Moreover the *Thiruvayamoli* was looked upon as an Upanishad, the *Dramidopanishad* and notwithstanding that the entire work of Nammalavar was placed parallel to the vedas. *Thiruviruttham* to Rigveda, *Thiruvaymoli* to Sama, *Thiruviruvaciriyam* to Yagur and *Periotheruvandadi* to Atharva. That was quite arbitrary and manifestly a pure result of the prestige gained by Sanskrit in vedantic circles of Tamilnad. That prestige, the widespread use of Sanskrit philosophy and the necessity of controversy with the Sanskrit school led also *Ramanuja* in the line of the *Acharyas* to become a Sanskrit author like Sankara, though he was a Tamilian of *Sriperumbadur* and full of admiration for the *Alwars* more particularly Andal. Founded on Tamil sources before the tenth century, the *Srivaishnava* movement flourished in Sanskrit alone during the following centuries". [104]

A basic truth that emerges from the above is the fact that intellectual gymnastics of any variety through Sanskrit language, be it philosophical disquisition or otherwise, was largely the hobby of the Brahmin priesthood both in the North and the South. However, everytime a non-Brahmin attained remarkable stature in the assimilation of Brahmanical culture and produced some work of intrinsic merit in his own language for the use of his fellowmen, the Brahmins lost no time in giving the work a Sanskritic interpretation as to disallow it an independent existence of its own and continued esteem in popular mind. It is clearly due to the insecurity in the Brahmin mind that leads them to adopt this strategy as is evident from many modern instances. In fact it is not quite a well-known fact that the orthodox Brahmins had at one time offered to Mahatma Gandhi the choice of the acceptance of Brahminhood which he characteristically refused. The fact that he was finally assassinated by a fanatic Chitpavan Brahmin of Poona is more than significant of the suppressed hostility of those caste-conscious Brahmins all over India who could not share the enlightened views of that great soul.

Secondly Brahmanical strategy used Sanskrit as a main tool of their social control only to the extent that resistance was offered by the receiving group against the absorption of mythology and other religious ideas. Thus the use of Sanskrit was less continuous and less intense in Kerala than in Tamilnad even though Kerala today is more Brahmanically minded in language and culture than any other part of South India. For example, there was no opposition to the acceptance of Hindi as the State language in Kerala while opposition is still rampant in Tamilnad. *Thus group tensions and divisions of thought on major political issues as between two identical regional cultures is brought about to a great extent by the difference in the degree to which they have been subjected to Brahmanical thought and influence. The difference in degree usually constitutes the prejudices on linguistic grounds that members of one regional culture entertain for the other.* It is precisely for this reason that political movements such as Dravidakazhagam started by E. V. Ramaswamy Naicker could not find a foothold in Kerala or for that matter even in Andhra. This situation again is ideally suited to further political intrigues by the Brahmins and help them to evolve a political strategy over-riding provincial boundaries in order to stabilise their own political power.

Thirdly, the weakness of Sanskrit was apparent in two situations that arose in a context when the Brahmin's role as cultural conqueror was neutralized. Obviously, this happened during the British administration when the English language was imposed over the masses of India in place of Sanskrit. We may recall in this connection the controversy regarding this point where Lord Macaulay figured. The imposition of his own language by the British conqueror was a great blow to Sanskrit which stagnated throughout the British period as a conquering linguistic force in India. Nevertheless when the spearhead got blunted Sanskrit got diluted further and spread with greater speed as the vanguard of movements of Indian nationalism. It does not require any effort to recall that it was the trigger words and phrases such as *Swaraj* and *Swadeshi*, songs like *Vande Mataram* full of powerful trigger phrases that succeeded in awakening the masses against British rule. Thus, throughout the British administration the Brahmin succeeded in utilising the Britisher as an unconscious tool for the strengthening of his social control and in fact profited greatly by four great streams of activity generated by the British administration which directly contributed to the strength of all-India Hinduism under Brahmin leadership. Dr. M. N. Srinivas classifies them as follows:

> (a) the systematic reconstruction of Indian History during the last 70 years by British and Indian scholars;
> (b) the development of mass-communication media which facilitated the spread of Brahmanical ideas (*Let us recall the surprising number of Indian films which were shot with mythological themes especially in South India and the extension of control of Brahmins over the vernacular and English press which continue even today.*)
> (c) the growth and development of reformist movements conducting propaganda for the removal of the defects in Hinduism such as untouchability, child marriage etc. which rereceived the approval of the British administrators.
> (d) the greatness of Sanskritic literature and the vitality of Indian philosophical thought which formed the subject matter of most serious study both by Indian and English scholars and also by European scholars to an unprecedented extent. [105] (Italics mine)

It was thus during the British period and the regrouping of social forces that took place under the British regime that the Brahmin discovered his soul and saw with clear eyes the beauty and ugliness of his own handiwork in India.*

* Swami Dharma Theerthaji Maharaj gives ten examples of the way in which the British propped up Brahmanism in India.
(a) They raised the Brahmins to the highest posts of power, profit and confidence.
(b) They chivalrously championed the cause of decaying temples idolatrous festivals and charming dancing girls with the hearty patronage and protection of the Company's Government to the mutual advantage and recreation of the company and priests.
(c) They established the caste kutcheries, the most dreaded tribunals of the Hindus.
(d) They unearthed from their oblivion Manushastra and other spurious texts which the vast majority of Hindus had never heard of and elevated them to the status of authoritative works on Hindu Law.
(e) They handed over the temples to the control of the trustees and

Before we close this section on Sanskritisation of Dravidian languages there is the second aspect of the weakness of Sanskrit that requires to be stressed. And this concerns its failure to leave the psychological impress on the Christian community in India. [106] Christianity of the real proselytising variety came to India and drew its strength only during the British occupation so that it must be considered intrinsically as the religion of a cultural and political conqueror. The conversions of Christianity were mostly from people who were outside the pale of Brahmanical Hinduism so that the cultural influences of Sanskrit were not felt by these people to any extent before conversion or after it. Indeed the European Missionaries who had translated the Bible into Indian regional languages could not dispense with Sanskrit words in the process even though they would have gladly done so in regions where the language was rich on its own e.g. Tamilnad. [107] But in regions with the subculture of one main language opposed to Sanskrit, where the Brahmanical ideas and modes of thought had gained firm ground and developed to an enormous degree they had no alternative but to adopt Sanskrit words and phrases and even attempt certain semantic twists of their own. An examination of Malayalam Bible will

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facilitated the aggrandizement of Brahmanism and deprivation of the rights of lower orders.

(f) Through judicial decisions and administrative classification and even by legal enactments the so called Hindu law has been applied to all Indians who are not Christians or Mohammedans.

(g) They gave caste distinctions royal recognition. State protection, enhanced dignity, positive value and significance and even political importance.

(h) They blasted the hopes of the reformers and teachers by making it impossible for them to alter the status quo by any practicable means.

(i) In the name of non-interference they have actively strengthened and perpetuated the evils of society which it was their duty to fight.

(j) Lastly, Christian antiquarians have added insult to injury by flattering non-British castes and unchristian idolatry as meritorious cultural achievements for the delectation of Humanity.

See *The Menace of Hindu Imperialism*, pp. 191-192 be rewarding in this matter indeed to anyone wanting to study the word composition and frequency as between Sanskrit and original Malayalam as derived from Tamil.* [108A] To the untrained ear of Hindu habituated to the language of feeling as taught by Sanskritic Hinduism, the Bible language would appear to be a fanciful caricature in which the Sanskrit words deprived of their original symbolic value and context were grafted on to conceptual situations wholly foreign to the Indian mind. And yet, the Christian convert who was often a former untouchable or a member of the scheduled caste did not react to this with any spiritual concern. This was so because his mind, excepting for its faint Dravidian background which he had almost forgotten, was a virgin field for the Christian mythology to grow exactly in the same way as the old Dravidian socially integrated communities offered fresh pastures for the inroads of crusading Brahmanism. Let us, however, recall that Christianity succeeded in proselytisation because Brahmanism would not open the doors of caste hierarchy and temple worship to the untouchables and other similar groups. For the Christian convert it was also a natural thing to look up to English as his second preferred language as it was the language of his cultural conqueror. It was therefore seldom, if ever, that he sought to study Indian Sanskritic culture even though he was fully aware of the importance of the Brahmins as a status group within the caste hierarchy. As Maxweber says, "Even the Indian Christians have not been quite able to withhold themselves from practical recognition of castes. These non-Hindu castes have lacked the tremendous emphasis that the specific Hinduistic doctrine of salvation placed upon caste and they have lacked a further characteristic viz. the determination of the social rank of the castes by the social distance from other Hinduist castes and therewith, ultimately from the Brahmin. *For this is decisive for the connection between Hindu castes and Brahmin; however intensely a Hindu caste may reject him as a priest, as a doctrinal and ritual authority and in every other respect, the objective situation*

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* For an illuminating article see L. V. Ramaswami Iyer on 'The Malayalam of the missionaries' in the *Bulletin of the Sri Rama Varma Research Institute,* Trichur, Cochin, Vol. IX, Part I.

remains inescapable. In the last analysis a rank position is determined by the native of its positive and negative relation to the Brahmin." [108] The unnaturalness of Christianity to the Christian convert in India was that it provided him with a cosmology alien to his mind. It spoke to him in a language that was insipid and vulgar as compared to the sonorous beauty of Sanskrit. There have been instances of Christian missionaries attempting to rectify this state of affairs e.g. the Benedictine order. Indeed in the field of institutional-religion the Christians especially the Catholics, surprisingly approximated the Brahmanical complexity and grandeur. Nevertheless, Christianity without the protective barricades of the British cultural conqueror paled off by the side of resurgent Brahmanism which lost no time in taking up cudgels against the European missionaries whose activities it disapproved. The future of Christianity in modern India is thus a question of its continued growth against invading Brahmanical Hinduism with the revival of Sanskrit. It is no surprise at all that the intelligentsia among the Christian converts in South India are therefore reacting strongly if non-violently against the current trends in India's cultural development and veering towards their truly Tamilian cultural heritage unmixed with the mythology of Sanskritic Hinduism. The enthusiasm shown in the development of Tamil culture by Christian scholars in South India is thus a clear sign of this reaction, an imperceptibly vigorous reaction following the frustration caused by the sudden departure of the British.* The reaction of the Christian Goans in Goa and the Christian Tamilians of Pondicherry are subjects for similar study.

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* "In the name of Indian culture and tradition certain things are done which are not in strict keeping with the ideal of a secular state. Subtle attempts are being made to 'Hinduize' Indian culture forgetting that Indian culture is a composite thing in the evolution of which Hinduism and Buddhism, Jainism and Sikhism, Christianity and Islam as well as western influence in general have played a prominent part. It is true that Hinduism is the most influential element in Indian culture. Yet if words are to be used in their strict sense Hindu culture and Indian culture should not be used synonymously".

Dr. Asirvatham on 'Study of Political Science in India'—*The Indian Journal of Political Science*—January-March 1955 Vol. XVI, No. 1.

Before we close this section, let us remember that as Indians our personality traits were formed by our languages. And since our languages contain a very high proportion of Sanskrit words our minds react more quickly to the symbols and myths contained in them and hence render our minds highly complex, confused and least precise. The absence of the scientific attitude in India is to be largely explained by this. As Indians we are for ever lost in the clouds and if we are "to feel earth, earthly" we have to cast away this heavy burden of myths and symbols from the penumbra of cur mind and release our perceptive faculties from their bondage.* In short, we have to secularise our languages and ideation first before we begin to secularise our social institutions and culture. And for this we have to tackle the mass communication media with great earnestness. It is for the reader to assess factually the extent to which these media chiefly, the press, film and radio are under active Brahmanical control in contemporary India.

A Postcript On Sanskritisation

It is an essential function of linguistic research in India to study the extent to which the rapid Sanskritisation of Dravidian languages, for example, had introduced linguistic symbolism that had no immediate relevance to the social phenomena including material objects. The '*weltanschauung*' of the South Indian (non-Brahmin) was rendered highly unreal and abstract by the reason of the fact that the artificial infusion of Sanskrit words created a disjunction between the symbol and the phenomenon. It was not merely the haphazard spread of Sanskrit or its deliberate and principal use for sacerdotal purposes that brought about this mental situation but also to a large exent the esotericism that was imported in the use of the language, the word-meanings, etc. And above all it was a leisure class that used Sanskrit. As Prof. Kosambi so aptly puts it "The language suffered from its long monopolistic association with a class that had no direct interest in technique, manual operations, trade agreements, contracts or surveys. The class did have leisure enough to write their tenuous ideas in a tortuous manner above the reach of the common herd and to unravel them from such writings, prose virtually disappeared from high literary Sanskrit. Words that survived in literary usage took on so many supplementary meanings that a good Sanskrit text cannot be interpreted without a commentary. The glosses are often demonstrably wrong and succeed in only confusing the text which has to be restored by critical methods first developed in Europe. The older terms used in administration (e.g. in *Arathashastra* and Copperplate charters) were forgotten. In some cases, where obscurity was deliberately imposed (i.e. the Tantric mysticism) cult and meaning of the text vanished together. There were astounding mnenomic developments but they too contributed to the same end by over-specialization and particular jargons for every discipline". (see *An Introduction to the Study of Indian History*—pp. 265-266).

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* "The Indian has a pavlovian reflex about Sanskrit hard to overcome. Even scholars such as Max Muller have fallen into this fatal scholastic ditch. One hundred years start in Sanskrit studies in Europe has had something of the same effect. But twentyfive years ago the discovery of Mohanjodaro and Harappa of the remains of a great culture and city life (which no invading Vedic people had) was the final evidence that toppled down the great edifice of antiquity built up by Brahmin historians".

"Sanskrit like English has many virtues, and just as it has taken time to wash out imperialist dirt from English, so it will take time to deodorize the Sanskrit language from the bad smell associated with it by those who have used it. Here we are not referring to caste injustices but of a version of life which was philosophically and historically wrong. Could the Pope be expected to write an unbiased history of Calvinism or the Moderator of the Church of Scotland be trusted to write a detached history of the Roman Catholic Church, or either of them a just history of Islam?"

John Spiers on 'The World of Buddha-hood' in *Values*, April, 1956 Vol. I, No. 8.

The language of the cultural conqueror having been such, it was but natural that the absorption of Sanskrit words in the speech of the South Indian should have taken place without any rhyme or reason literally. Semantic research in India particularly covering Sanskrit words in daily use in the South Indian languages should enable us to trace their source of absorption and the semantic twists in their meaning that have come about due to their being shorn of the original linguistic symbolism and context. Studies in the growth and evolution of Malayalam language is bound to prove particularly rewarding in this direction. The Malayali lost his tribal personality with the advent of Sanskrit and its rapid infusion into his own speech. For as Joshua Whatmough states "a language is the expression of the attitude of a certain speech—community towards its culture, that is to say towards the sum total of conditions in which it lives both natural and as transformed by human activity—a combination of external phenomena and of human responses to them, together with the unceasing interaction of the one upon the other and all its products, including man's sensations. We say that language mirrors the psyche and is the culture of a language community. There are no metaphysical assumptions here." (See *Language, A Modern Synthesis*). Revival of Sanskrit would mean inevitably archaism on the one hand and cultural frustration on the other, since in *stricto sensu* it will interfere with the symbolic integrity of South Indian languages.*

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* For an interesting view-point see paper on 'Sociology in a new frame of reference: Man, symbol and society' by Prof. Radhakamal Mukherjee, in *'Professor Ghurye Felicitation Volume'*, edited by Dr. K. M. Kapadia, Popular Book Depot, Bombay 1954., pp. 66-77. Also see 'Report of the Committee of Parliament on Official Language,' 1958 containing the general view point as well as the Minute of dissent by Shri Frank Anthony, M.P. pp. 82-101.

CHAPTER V

THE BRAHMIN AND THE NEW INDIAN

THE ROLE of the Brahmin as the cultural conqueror has been brought about through conscious motivation. There is no denying the fact that it was the consciously motivated drives of the Brahmin that produced the cultural phenomena of Hinduism in India. Brahmin scholars of today may object to this psychologistic approach as the false approach towards the interpretation of India's cultural history. Some of them at least, would have us believe that the Brahmin's motivations in the social control of the masses have been unconscious and that the cumulative result of centuries of varying cultural phenomena brought about by countless personality, situational and other variable factors cannot be explained away by the facile psychologistic method. However, modern sociological knowledge provides us with the tools of analysis sufficient to unravel even the most seemingly baffling of such mysteries. Hindu society today is an automaton stimulus response system within which the Brahmin plays the key role (Status role) like the conductor of an orchestra. His present function is to extend the boundaries of this society so as to comprehend all those sections of Indian society that have not been brought within his operational orbit. A study of his status role in the past as well as in the present day helps us to unravel the components of his behaviour in order to expand control and spread. This should naturally provide us with the reasoning for controlling his activities in the future. The counter-control in the interests of the masses in India should start now before the Brahmin goes ahead too far. This counter-control is to be primarily aimed at the controlling the third dimension of the Brahmin's behaviour viz. social control factors rather than personality factors.

Intuition more than the intellect has been the Brahmin's forte. The true cultural type of a Brahmin is generally a learned man and not an intellectual. The Brahmins as learned men formed the status-groups in Indian society from time immemorial; but they were not, generally speaking intellectuals. The intellectual has an emancipated outlook and is not conscious of his class interests. So the Brahmin cultural type could never be truly speaking an intellectual. The branch of psychology that serves the purpose of analysing the Brahmin mind is the Hormic School as it stresses the importance of impulses and motives in human action. If human conduct depends on impulses, these can be both rational and nonrational. Was the Brahmanical social control the result of a rational impulse or nonrational impulse? How far was it purposivistic or accidental? Our answer is that it is neither exclusively purposivistic nor uniquely accidental. The vital impulse (Horme) of the Brahmin—we may call it the 'elan vital' [109]* in Bergsonian language—cannot have been a

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* This relationship of 'Intuition' and 'Intellect' is clearly brought out in Bergson's philosophy. "Bergson holds that the method by which we arrive at metaphysical truth consists not in the exercise of the *intellect* but in the deliverances of a faculty which he calls *intuition*. It is through intuition and intuition alone that we realize our participation in the *vital surge* (elan vital)". Intuition is linked up with *instinct* also in the sense that instinct is sympathy. "If this instinct could extend its object and also reflect upon itself it would give us the key to vital operations". Now, intuition is nothing more or less than instinct conscious of itself: it is instinct that has become disinterested, self-conscious capable of reflecting upon its object and of enlarging it indefinitely. Similarly 'the intellect according to Bergson is a very special faculty evolved for the purposes of action. Life in a world of ceaseless flow and change would present difficulties from the point of view of effective action, which the intellect is designed to overcome. The intellect therefore makes cuts across the living flow of reality, and carves out of it solid objects, which we call material objects and separate states of consciousness which persist until they are succeeded by other states."

See *An Introduction to Modern Philosophy* by C.E.M. Joad, pp. 86-110.

In the present context it is interesting to read another interpretation as follows:

"Il reste cependent que Bergson subordonne l'intelligence stricto sensu, al'intuition. Il reste que sa decouverte initiale est éssentielle, celle de la duree en implique une autre, celle de l'intuition que apprehende la durée dans la réalite qualitative propre. c'est incontestable. Mais il faut voir ce que cela signifie. Qu' est ce que l'intution? "La

rational impulse in the beginning. It must have been a primeval urge or a primary instinct of the Brahmin then. However, the elaboration of the various phases of social control must have been a conscious and rational process; the result of an instinctive propensity controlled by conscious and rational direction to safeguard the Brahmin's status situation. It is this purposive nature of the Brahmin's activity that explains the cultural phenomena of Hinduism of the present day. An Indian psychologist has gone to the extent of tracing the hormic theory in the Bhagvada Gita. [110]

It was the Brahmin's mind coupled with his intellect that produced Hinduism. These two are his tremendously powerful assets even today. The mind is his source of energy while the intellect is his tool for social control. Macdougall explains this dichotomy in fine language when he states "It is the mental force; the sources of energy which forces the intellectual processes are but servants instruments or means". [111] The Brahmin himself has always been conscious of the powers of his mind. When the ancient sage spoke *"Mana eva Mamushyanam Karanam bandhamokshayoh"* ("What the mind is that man is; this is the eternal secret") he was only laying down this eternal truth that the mind is the source of all energies. Hence the practical methodology of Hindu realisation stressed the development of the mind alongside the body and the merging of the two so as to form the unity. [112] For several hundreds of centuries the Brahmin has been training his mind and training his spiritual forces consciously. But the benefits of this knowledge of methodology was retained by him for his own groups and not for the masses. The Brahmins shunned the mediocre masses and verily regarded even the

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connaissance intuitive est une illustration de l'esprit par laquelle il voit en lumiere de Dieu les choses qu'il luiplait lui decouvrir par une impression directe de la clarte divine par notre entendement qui en cela n'est point considere comme agent mais seulement comme récevant les rayons de la Divinité".

See *Bergson par Jacques Chevalier, Librairie Plon,* Paris 1926, p. 303.

For other views see Pitrim Sorokin in *The Reconstruction of Humanity,* Indian edition, Bhavan's Book University, pp. 106-107.

members of the *varna* system as unfit to receive the sacred knowledge. Hence it is that he created the popular Hinduism with its Gods and Godlings by the legion and complex mythology for their use. It was this fact which led European philosophers such as Hegel to state that "among Indians the consciousness of the highest idea is found mixed with the most arbitrary fancifulness". [113] The methodology of spiritual realisation was thus the exclusive possession of the Brahmins and the masses never knew anything much of it except in sporadic individual cases of non-Brahmin seekers. But normally the Brahmin could not have humanised this knowledge for the benefit of the masses. It would have meant the loss of their status situation. Indeed the humanization of the methodology of spiritual realisation was attempted on a large scale by the Brahmins themselves only when they found that it was necessary to please the British cultural conqueror. [114] Otherwise it was not to be done as its monopolistic use was implicit in the creed of the supermen. .Indeed, did not the protagonist of the ideal of a superman, Frederik Nietzche himself admire the Indian Brahmin for this quality which "implied on the one hand a withdrawal from the political life of the herd and on the other an implicit obedience of the herd to the religious and moral commands of the ruling caste". His words are well worth quoting:

> "And in the case of the unique nature of the noble origin if by virtue of superior spirituality they should incline to a more retired and contemplative life, reserving to themselves only the more refined form of Government (over chosen disciples and members of an order) religion itself may be used as a means of obtaining peace from the noise and trouble of managing grosser affairs and for securing immunity from the unavoidable filth of all political agitation. The Brahmins, for example, understood this fact. With the help of a religious organisation they secured to themselves the power of nominating kings for the people while their sentiments prompted them to keep apart and outside as men with a higher and super-regal mission". [115]

Who can deny that this state of affairs admired by Nietzche continue to prevail in India even now under modern political conditions even though, fascism with its 'Führer prinzip' is no longer a potent force in the world today?

From the standpoint of social psychology the problem facing the thinker is how to tame the Brahmin mind and use it for the benefit of the masses? How long should the Brahmin be allowed to play his time-honoured game of social control without "socializing" himself in the interests of the changing needs of society? Should he be entrusted with autocratic powers and continue to nourish faith in his super-regal mission? Should he be allowed to create another cult of the leader? What shall be done about the institutional complex of Hinduism, his handiwork through the ages? Should it be allowed to continue without regulation? Should the Brahmin be allowed to retain his status situation as the highest caste in India? Can anything be done to retain him within society and assign him an important role in the interests of the masses? How can the average Indian be brought to the level of the Brahmin and the Brahmin made to loose his identity and merge with the masses? This last is the pivot round which our enquiry revolves. The task is not easy especially as it has to be accomplished in a dispassionate manner. The primary job is to control the social motivations of the Brahmins, just as it is necessary to control the social motivations of all individuals in society as the prelude to its reorganisation. If the social motivations of society are to change in which direction has it to change? Should it be again in the direction dictated by Brahmins who have got themselves entrenched in the bureaucratic machinery of the central and provincial Governments or should it take place according to the acceptable lines of policy as agreed on by all representative sections of society? We have already been that the personality traits of the average Indian today is the result of the Sanskritisation of his language. Should we allow this to continue as *force majeure* or should we call a halt to this and allow the Dravidian strata of words in the provincial languages of today greater play and action and help the ordinary Indian to discover his own self? These are a few of the questions that we shall attempt to answer in this section. One thing is certain and that is that Indian society is oriented towards a change for the better. The encouragement of social mobility will under Indian conditions lead to the enforcement of controls over human behaviour. This assumption has already been borne out in the present tendencies in India covering a number of sectors of national life. If these tendencies continue we might as well expect a change in the personality make-up of the average educated Indian even though it will require a longer period for a typical member of the masses to undergo this beneficial change. This will again depend on how soon the present frontiers of Hindu society are extended to cover the vast millions of the erstwhile untouchables, scheduled castes and criminal tribes. Is it possible to reach a stage when these people will themselves imbibe the essentials of Sanskritic culture and speak in Sanskritised Munda or Gond? Already the NEFA (the North-East Frontier Agency) is attempting to rewrite the Naga language in Devanagari script. Is this not a sign of the times? Our concern here is not for the type of culture as such but for the individual—and the masses. The non-Brahminised (Hinduised) masses cannot easily imbibe the essentials of Sanskritic Hinduism and become an integral part of the Hindu fold or the automaton-stimulus-response system that the Hindu society is today. Is it not worth the trouble to bring them under the discipline of a secular training so that they will cease to be passive in the face of their environment? What tremendous energies can these Indians release if they are trained under modern methods instead of being bound in the cobweb of Brahmanical ideas which would leave them apathetic to their environment? However, what experience have we of human planning on such a vast scale as compared for example to Soviet Russia or even China? And when we finally make a beginning what should be the guiding principles of action? Let us see the Soviet example. Professor Gerome S. Bauer makes the following observation:

> "Over the years as circumstances have changed Soviet psychology has undergone one or perhaps several revolutions. From a view of man as a creature of the forces of the environment and therefore of the historical process, there has evolved a new image of man capable of self-imitation responsible for his actions, neither controlled by his environment nor by heredity—a picture of man capable of being activist and at the same time capable of

> being the source of his own error and evil. His freedom rests not in determinancy but in his capacity for recognising the necessity". [116]

Let us recall for a moment that the new Soviet man is the product of the Communist regime in Russia. Admiring his image does not mean voting for the Communist regime. This only means that a new type of human being with desirable psychological traits can be evolved side by side with the basic economic transformation of society. In India too, it is not so much the ideological concept and its practice that will usher him into the world as the purposive human planning that will accompany economic planning. The neo-Indian that we seek to create should not be an insipid Brahmanical prototype with implicit faith in the law of Karma and inaction in the face of an unfavourable environment but the virile specimen of the new society in which he will himself take a conscious and active part in reshaping his own character to the extent that it is related to a "weltanschauung." But unfortunately the entire burden of Indian philosophical thought as it percolated among the masses has been against the true teachings of the sages themselves and has resulted in creating the highest sense of apathy and inaction. Renunciation rather than conscious action to change the environment has been the primary lesson imbibed by the masses from Indian spiritual teachings. Individual motivations within Hindu society have been patterned after these teachings for centuries so that the natural tendency of the average Indian was to eke out his conscious life and put up with the acerbities of his environment rather than combat with them and mould the environment after his likes and ideals*. It is thus that we find that millions of people were successfully divided and compartmentalised within the caste system while they themselves looked upon such a division without the least opposition and were unaware of its social implication for centuries to come. Whenever rival groups opposed these Brahmanical pretensions they were suppressed with a ruthless violence and subtle guile for which the very scriptures afforded the justification. Let us recall to mind the Nadar insurrection of Travancore during the last century [117] which is all but forgotten now and which finally led to their mass scale conversions to Christianity. The Nadar (Shanar) of today, as a Christian convert has definitely greater chances of developing his personality than the member of a scheduled or depressed class, still clinging to his 'Hindu' faith with the implicit recognition of the Brahmins as status groups. What we read of the four fold factor theory of Soviet psychology [118] was already evolved by the Christian missionaries of the last century when they released the lower class converts from the bondages of the caste hierarchy and afforded them the chances of training and self training. And if the converted Christians themselves could not altogether get away from the shackles of the caste it was largely due to the fact that they had to survive in a larger community which was wholly caste-ridden and which affected their whole existence. This is not to argue that if the whole of India had been converted to Christianity there would not have been any caste system. There would surely have been a varied system of castes or classes but undoubtedly devoid of the same exclusive spirit as we find in Hindu social structure today. The conversion to another religion—a practical religion such as Christianity was a factor that changed the personality make up of the average Indian Christian and made him a citizen with greater civic sense than the

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* Dr. Kosambi's comments are highly interesting on this aspect. Referring to priestly superstition he says "If people cannot distinguish physical from man-made necessity, if they do not consciously search out the hidden laws of matter, they remain helpless in the face of nature. Therefore later Brahminism greatly restricted both human freedom—the recognition of necessity—and the production of value which is measured by socially necessary labour-time. Science as the cognition of necessity was incompatible with brahmin insistence upon dogma and authority. The incompatibility grew with the practice of forging or re-

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writing sacred books to order. The roots of all this superstition lie in the primitive means of production, just one little step above food gathering. To this day, the Indian peasant meticulously performs ritual acts before the commencement of any important process: ploughing, sowing, harvest, threshing, etc."

See *An Introduction to Indian History,* Popular Book Depot, Bombay, 1951.

average Hindu. The Christian convert may not have been fired with nationalism to the same extent as the Hindu during earlier days. He may not be the partisan of the Hero-worship today as his contemporary Hindu is; but surely he is a better citizen, one who has harmoniously developed his personality under the determining influences of inheritance, environment, training (Christian) and self training (patterned after the teachings of the Bible). His language is surely less riddled with mythology and imagery. It is not mythopoeic to any great next. The reasons for this we have already traced in the previous part of this essay*.

The Quest for a Political Ideology

Now then, if the sporadic conversions to a new religious faith such as Christianity could perceptibly change the personality make up of the average Indian outside the Hindu society what greater changes cannot be achieved by the acceptance of a larger ideology? The great strength of Gandhism or the Gandhian way was that it fought the battle against the evils of the caste system and even though political personages like Dr. Ambedkar† [119] held that the battle was throughout a sham affair the fact cannot be denied that Gandhian teachings do constitute themselves a living force for fighting some of the major evils of Hindu society. Indeed those teachings are not mechanical or immutable. They have to be adapted to the present conditions and have therefore to undergo a progressive change with the needs of the time. Thus it is that we find that the present Government in India have adopted many of Mahatma Gandhi's ideas in Governmental policies and measures and have almost evolved a dialectical Gandhism instead of a mechanistic Gandhism whose followers are thinning down day by day. Who can deny that it is the rehashed or revamped Gandhism that constitute the political ideology of India today with official sanction? It is the elevation of Gandhism to this ideological status by the Brahmin in India that has led to the relentless fight against Communism—another powerful ideology which is alien to the masses of India. Besides unlike Communism, Gandhism is an ideology that has proved its merits under popular eyes in India to the hilt. There have been no theoretical revaluations of Gandhiji's teachings in India in any systematic fashion. Gandhian followers have not practiced auto-criticism publicly so often as to reduce the mass support for Gandhian ideas. Its bankruptcies in the face of tricky political situations have not been advertised. Gandhiji has been slowly deified but without any apparent opposition from the masses or caste groups. World thinkers themselves have conferred on Gandhism the distinction of being a sound ideology fit for universal adoption. Hence the Brahmins have lost no time in reifying this Gandhian ideology as a technique of their social control after Gandhiji's assassination. Let us recall that Mahatma Gandhi was not a Brahmin but his ideas were largely derived from Hindu scriptures. The greatest service done by Mahatma Gandhi to the Brahmins was that he showed them the way to adapt Brahmanical Hinduism to the requirements of modern conditions and thus retain Brahmin's social control in a modified form without loosing its essentials from the standpoint of the Brahmins themselves. What are the consequences? Let us quote Prof. Lapiere for a sociological explanation:

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* For a forceful presentation of the Christian standpoint see *India's Quest for Democracy* by P. D. Devanandan and M. M. Thomas, Y.M.C.A. Publishing House, Calcutta 1955.

† Even the representative Weekly Journal 'Harijan' was closed down recently on alleged grounds of financial loss. The fact is that its continued existence had become superfluous when a whole set of influential dailies are preaching the ideas in modified form.

> "An ideology that has been reified by a status group becomes a symbolic extension of the group itself, its norms and its values beyond the group's actual presence. The ideological causative force—God, Nature, the King, the president or whatever—then serves as a symbolic agent of the group, representing the group and enforcing upon the individual conformity to its norms when he is beyond the group's direct control. To the extent, usually considerable that the individual member accepts a group—reified ideology, he carries with him wherever he goes an idea of God or whatever the personification of final or ultimate cause may be, that is made not in the image of man in general but in the image of the specific status groups, an image that supplements and per-

> haps corrects the individual's personal concept of that group".
>
> "Moreover, a status group reified ideology which is quite a different thing from an ideology lying lose as it were in the cultural heritage of being promoted by some outside agency—lends a degree of omnipotence to the status groups. The direct controls of the groups are fallible. The controls exerted over an individual by a group sanctioned ideology have the unique virtue of being at once infallible and ever present. The ideologically promised rewards and the threatened punishments of God, nature or the personification of final or ultimate causation are *de facto* beyond test. They either lie in some hypothetical future world (as is mainly true of sacred ideologies) or else are so interwoven with other and inseparable causes as to be indistinguishable therefrom". [120]

Thus in the villages Hindus continue to believe that the visitation of an epidemic or some other serious calamity is due to the failure of the villagers to live up to the ideals acceptable to the deity in the temple and hence it has to be propitiated*. On the same analogy, if ever a bloody revolution or social upheaval were to take place in India in the future it will in all probability be considered as the punishment for the failure to live up to the Gandhian teachings as propagated by the Brahmins. This is the great *strategic myth* of the Brahmins in India. (Let us also recall in parenthesis that one of the potent causes for the so called 'Indian Mutiny' of 1857 was the use of the greased cartridges that wounded the religious susceptibilities made current by Brahmanical Hinduism). Dialectical Gandhism is thus a potent means open to the Brahmanical groups for the extension of their social control over the masses of India.* The Brahmin intellect in the Indian bureaucracy is most sedulously active in the spread of this ideology even at the risk of making compromises with the orthodox views of Gandhiji on major issues and this for the reason that the new situation created by such modifications could also be moulded for the ultimate interests of Brahmins as a status group. Certain Brahmin Ministers of the Central Government are thus seen taking a forthright view on the development of heavy industry and mechanisation as opposed to Gandhiji's teachings largely due to the subjective and empirical experience that they possess on these matters as providing opportunities for their group to retain its status situation in an industrialised and renovated society of modern India. Indeed the very need for planning as a means of economic development in India was originally stressed by a Brahmin Engineer from Mysore, viz., Dr. M. Visweswarayya. If industrialization should some day reach the highest level in India it can be safely foretold that the managerial class would be largely composed of Brahmins. This is almost a certainty and sceptics may well begin marking the current tendencies.

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* The burden of theism in the minds of the masses in India is illustrated by this. The masses in India like masses everywhere else cannot live without the idea of god. Besides there has been no crisis in religion in India as in the West. It is difficult to conceive of a time when the Hindu mind can dispense with the idea of God. And yet from the rationalistic angle one might speculate about the consequences. As Julian Huxley says in his celebrated essay on *'Religion as an objective problem'*:—"The fading of God does not mean the end of religion. God's disappearance is in the strictest sense of the word a theological process: and while theologists change the religious impulses which gave them birth still persist. The disappearance of God means a recasting of religion and a recasting of a fundamental sort. It means the shouldering by man of ultimate responsibilities which he had pushed off on to God e.g. (a) the responsibility for carrying on in the face of the World's mystery and his own ignorance. (b) The responsibility for the long-range control of destiny. "We are the trustees of the evolutionary process and like all trustees responsible for our trust. (c) Thirdly and most urgently responsibility for the immediate health and happiness of the species for the enhancement of life on this earth now and in the immediate future, poverty, slavery, ill-health, social misery, democracy, kingship, this or that economic or political system—they do not inhere inevitably in a divinely appointed order of things; they are phenomena to be understood and controlled in accordance with our desire just as much as the phenomena of chemistry or electricity." See *On Living In A Revolution and Other Essays* by Julian Huxley, p. 135.

What then is the Brahmanical conception or the neo-Indian or neo-Hindu? Just as stone idols were manufactured after his own image, the image of neo-Hindu can be shaped in the Brahmin's mind only as the shadow of his Brahmanical self-image; but never as an exact replica. For that would mean equality between himself and the neo-Indian belonging to the erstwhile herd and not quite integrated within the enlarged and newly consolidated Hindu society of tomorrow. The neo-Indian if he happens to be a liberated individual will have characteristics that resist the Brahmanical social control; so then the only thing to do according to the Brahmins, is to slowly change his outlook through an ideology which while controlling his own thought processes and outlook will still leave room for the Brahmins as a status group to survive without facing opposition. The conditions of survival are mainly the giving up of the attitudes and practices of a sacerdotal class, the humanization of esoteric knowledge and the effectuation of horizontal and vertical mobility as between Brahmanical classes as against castes or gotrams throughout India and a pretentious concern for the welfare of the masses on the economic planein keeping with the spirit of the times. Are these great sacrifices to make for the sake of retaining real power in all walks of life at the expense of the masses? Does not the Brahmin view in the advent of the neo-Indian a Frankenstein of his own creation or is he noble enough to see in him the fulfillment of his own destiny, just as a father would see in his grown up son the fulfillment of his life's purpose of the propagation of species? My view is that the modern Brahmin's attitude towards this is ambivalent. It is more in the nature of the former than of the latter. Individual studies have confirmed this and strengthened my view which is open to verification. The modern Brahmin embodies in himself the personality consequences of a *traumatic experience** par excellence. Now then what is a traumatic experience? "An individual who loses status in a group and either withdraws voluntarily from it or wins his way back into good standing is presumably sensitive to psychological sanctions and for such a person the loss of status can especially in childhood and youth constitute a traumatic experience". [121] The Brahmins of Travancore State after the departure of a powerful Brahmin Dewan presented a classic example to this situation. Indeed it is so all over India in varying degrees and it is perhaps the consciousness of Pandit Nehru being a Brahmin that goads the Brahmin bureaucrats to hasten with the Sanskritisation of languages in India during the period of his life time rather than proceed on it by slow stages. The attitude regarding a number of political, economic and social reforms appear to be conditioned by anxiety. Well might the Brahmin say 'Now or Never'. With all his knowledge of astrology the Brahmin of India is uncertain of his position in the society of tomorrow. However his ambitions now as well as in the future depend on the masses. It is thus that we find him anxious to make concessions to all groups with a different social back ground and different religious creeds and persuasions. The genesis of the secular state in India is to be traced to this changed attitude of the Brahmin to change with the times. But the most vital question for us to ask is whether the Brahmins are willing to abandon their status situation also? The answer is no. The Brahmin may abandon his religion but he will be loath to surrender his status except under compulsion and under brute force†. Their ingenuity to circumvent change and retain their social

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* The formation of the SWATANTRA PARTY by Shri Rajagopalachari is significant in this context.

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* This is an example of character-neuroses. I have in mind only the non-sexual trauma that we read about in the writings of Adler connected with lesser neurotic conditions and delinquency. "Adler found in many neurotics that the reactions seem to lead back to some traumatic experience in which the person had been made to feel desperately inferior and insecure. The individual attempts to wash out this hurtful feeling of inferiority by over-compensatory strivings for eminence and absolute power. . . . Unfortunately the individual does not generally have the capacity to reach such eminence. Except for a few geniuses who possess special gifts which can be tortured into highest expression by his relentless drive to perfection, the goal of absolute eminence must remain a fictional one. The individual gets discouraged

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and finally drags in a neurotic response as the only way to adjust the fictional goal to reality. He says 'I am really capable of outshining everyone but owing to this unfortunate disability, I have to be content with the realities of my present life." (See Raymond B. Cattel in *An Introduction of Personality Study,* Hutchinson's University Library, 1950). In India it is most generally the function of the astrologer to wake him up from this passive mood and aggravate his neurotic tendencies!

† "A class considered as a whole never spontaneously surrenders its position of advantage. It never recognizes any moral reason sufficiently powerful to abdicate in favour of its poorer brethren".

Michels quoted by H. D. Laswell in *Power and Society.*

solidarity as a group is proverbial. How then can the Brahmins be socialised or tamed? Here we have to evolve the outlines of a counter-control by the masses and put it into operation.

In our study of local Hinduism in Kerala we have seen the beginnings of the operational techniques of social control by the immigrant Brahmins viz., the Nambudiris. From the stand point of sociological analysis the Brahmins in a village or small town is an ideal status group, that is to say they are small in numbers, durable in character, in nearly continuous association and are highly structured as a status groups. The factor of numbers is important because it was their fewness of numbers rather than anything else that determined the behavioral calculation of the village folk composed of the socially integrated communities as well as the brokenmen constituting the so-called untouchables. The Brahmins by reason of their small numbers never induced any fear into the minds of the village communities. In fact their fewness in numbers made them objects of pity, elicited sympathy and brought them favours from chieftains and heads of villages. The sight of a single Brahmin is still considered as a bad omen (*Ṣakuna*) in many parts of South India. The lone Brahmin who strayed from his group was looked upon with suspicion by the non-Brahmin villagers. *'Parpane Nampakoodatu'* (Trust not the Brahmin) is a saying current among Tamil villagers. Several primitive dravidan communities observed pollution from the visit of the Brahmin in their villages or *cheris.* We have had occasion to mention this earlier. Secondly, it was the factor of duration of their stay in the village that mattered much in ancient times. The immigrant Brahmins were not like gypsies who wandered from one place to another. When they came they came with a purpose and settled down for ever. The village folk began thus trusting them and their presence. "All other factors remaining equal, the control that is exercised by a group over an individual is directly related to the length of time that the members may be expected to maintain relations". [122] Thirdly there is the factor of the frequency of contacts. If the Brahmin had walled himself in initially without establishing any contacts among the receiving groups he would not have become even familiar to the village folk. Once the Brahmin infiltrated inside the families of a socially integrated community and started the temple within the village compass, his presence was immediately recognised and contacts with him were renewed everyday and probably several times a day according to the frequency of the *pujas* performed inside the temple. This is the greatest strength of the Brahmins in the Indian villages whereas it is their greatest weakness as a group in the big towns and cities where religious life has gone to the background and been replaced by materialistic pursuits of trade and commerce. And yet in modern cities like New Delhi or Bombay one finds large groups of Brahmin priests called *Vaidikas* brought there especially by a numerous immigrant groups of South Indian Brahmins who require their services so as to give them the feeling of group solidarity in alien surroundings. Does it not look paradoxical that these very Brahmins from South India refuse to be ministered by the Brahmin priests of Northern India—the meat eating, moslemised and secular-minded Brahmin priests (known popularly as *Pandas*? [123] It is here that we come to the fourth and important factor of structuration. "All other things being equal, the more fully structured the relationships of the members of the group the more control that group will have over the individual members". [124] The Brahmins in a village could hardly have developed into a social force unless they had brought about the structuration so essential for wielding power. Indeed structuration is taking place among the South Indian Brahmins wherever they are settled down and the presence of the *Vaidikas* already referred to is a factor that goes to facilitate the structuration of Brahmanical groups in foreign surroundings. One has only to look at the way the temples have been built in different parts of the world where Hindu communities have spread far and wide. Indeed, it was not the Brahmin who built them originally but the non-Brahmin who imbibed the sacerdotal zeal over a habitually religious temperament. The most notable example is the Chettiar community who built temples wherever they went in the world in search of fortune. The priests sent out to these far off places were not Brahmins but non-Brahmins called 'Pandarams' who knew the rudiments of the performance of rituals and pujas. The Chettiars, viewed in this light therefore constitute a class of people who have unwittingly played the Brahmin's game for centuries especially since the date when their favourite deity 'Muruga' was annexed by the Brahmins within the Hindu pantheon. However, what is true of the Brahmins and non-Brahmins is equally true of other religious groups also e.g.. the Muslims, Sikhs in London and other large English cities have their own religious institutions such as mosques and temples. For structuration, therefore, the religious institution is a great complement; infact without this complement structuration of any group will not be complete *.

The Brahmin is a gifted crowd exponent†. His field of

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* Prof. Joachim Wach elucidates this point further and may be quoted here in support of this view. He says: "The decisive integrating power in religion is worship. A group of people who pray and worship together regularly become at least temporarily brethren and sisters in a more metaphorical sense. The decision may be made and prevail to carry these concepts and attitudes over into various and perhaps all fields of existence (common life). The assumption of duties and responsibilities, distinctions and privileges will always prove an excellent means to create interest and encourage cooperation of members of a religious group. A group, the cohesion of which is ultimately based on religious premises will always centre its life in a worship communion; but the latter may be integrated in typically different ways. Even silence which might appear superficially to exclude communion may serve as a powerful means of integration. It marks for example the most solemn moment in the Mass, the most elaborate form of commemoration of the sacrifice of Christ in Christian worship and is central in the service of the outstanding Christian community which opposes most consistently all stereotyped forms of worship, the Quaker meeting. Fostering the "Centering down" as Fox's disciples like to call this recollection aided by silence it has been called "a rare and supreme art of communion" (Rufus Jones). The Orient makes a wide use of it and Islam, Hinduism, Buddhism and Taoism have always borne witness to its numinous value". See *Sociology of Religion*, p. 380.

† In part one of this monograph we characterised Shankaracharya as a '*crowd exponent*'. Prime Minister Nehru is a modern example. "A suggestive distinction has been made by certain writers between three types of leaders called "*crowd compellers*" "crowd exponents" and

operation is the "social aggregation." The *pujari* of the temple is the classic example. His operational headquarters is the temple. Then on certain days of the week decided by him in advance there are the "assemblages". In the temples of Kerala there have been the exposition of the religious teachings traditionally known as the *"Harikatha Kalakshepam"*. Large numbers of people assemble to listen to a religious teacher or a scholar in the epics and *puranas.* Originally they were exclusively Brahmins but subsequently the Nayars also have become adepts in this. A temple festival or 'Utsava' which is an annual function provides the best opportunity for the Brahmins as a status group to influence the populace. Indeed all-India Hinduism has enlarged upon this theme by instituting mass festivals in big cities such as the Ramlila in Delhi and Ganapathi puja in Bombay, the Durga puja in Calcutta and so on. Who stands to gain from all these assemblages? It is the crowd exponents or the Brahmins. Attention is focussed on them as a status group and the spectators polarize on the performance led by the Brahmin scholar and disperse without suspecting the Brahmin's ingenuity or questioning his status situation. For doing this would mean blashphemy under popular eyes and the questioning of the very fundamentals of India's cultural heritage. This is yet another aspect of the great strategic myth of the Brahmins employed in Indian society.

The roots of the Brahmin are thus firmly implanted in the rural society of India where the temple is his traditional fort. Has not the time arrived for the Brahmin *pujari* to be replaced by a non-Brahmin substitute? We may well ask. What special qualifications and rights have the Brahmins to minister to the Gods? Few persons can differ with Dr.

"crowd representatives". The first men of the type of Alexander and Napoleon are described as men who can conceive a great idea, mould a crowd big enough to carry it with effect and face the crowd to do it. *The 'crowd exponents' are those whose special skills lie in being able to render articulate what is only vaguely or dimly felt or thought by the mass.* The 'crowd representatives' are leaders who only express the unknown and settled opinion of the crowd. See *Power and Society* by Laswell and Kaplan, p. 154.

Ghurye when he answered the question in his book 'Caste and Class' as follows:

> "I strongly believe that the time has arrived when the Hindus must not leave their priestly function in the hands of any body who chooses to parade himself as a priest. A central organisation with provincial Branches should be started to impart training in priesthood. Only those who hold the requisite certificates from the associations should be allowed to practice the profession. In the matter of admission the orthodox section should unconditionally surrender itself to the reformed view and allow anyone possessing the minimum standard of education the right to join the institution maintained by this association for training in priestcraft. No longer should the old distinction between Vedic rites and non-Vedic ones be maintained. It must be the choice of the worshipper to ask his priest to conduct his service either according to the Vedic formula or the puranic ones. So long as the overwhelming majority continue to believe in ritualism with all the past sins of the priestly class, it is better to have well informed priests who should be asked to pledge themselves that they shall conduct their service according to the dictates of the worshipper as to one or the other type of formula be used. It would provide Hindu society with its old bond of common priesthood based not on hereditary right but on liking and capacity. It would at the same time take the edge off the non-Brahmin clamour against the Brahmin priests".

Of course, Brahmanical influence in Indian rural society is bound to be reduced progressively according as the society itself places greater emphasis on the insistent needs of production and economic growth. But there is a basic need to draw up a programme of action to combat the spread of the distorted versions of the true Brahmanical modes of thinking and ways of life. Like the Curate's egg Brahmanism is good only in parts. We may now ask what of the Brahmin in urban society? The Brahmin in the town and city is a greater potent force than the Brahmin in the village. In an urban society the Brahmin's role is prominent in the administration and the cultural activities. Of late the Brahmin is increasingly entering the business field and this is especially noticeable in South India. The collusion of the power-crazy Brahmin business man and industrialist with the Brahmin bureaucrat is something that is suspected and considered by critics as a subtle method to smother the efforts of Indian society to evolve on non-Brahmanical lines. It was the Brahmin who linked the village with the town in the sense that he sought in the city a larger universe of action for the application of his social control techniques than what the restricted compass of a village permitted him to do. Later on when the structuration of his status group became complete in the urban society he tried his hand in two major fields of social activity viz. political and economic activities. The Brahmin's role as administrator is in effect only an extension of his traditional role as the adviser to the King or the chieftain. Similarly his role as the educator, the great public speaker or literary figure or lawyer and advocate is, psychologically speaking only an extension of his traditional role as priest, religious preacher, village teacher and the interpreter of the epics and *puranas.* We shall take up here his role as administrator and bureaucrat first and secondly as an educationist and the renovator of Indian culture. The emergence of the neo-Indian type should mean the end of the symbiotic relationship between the Brahmin and the non-Brahmin and therefore we shall have to study each of the above Brahmanical types rather closely. The psycho-dynamics of the roles of the Brahmin in Indian society reveals more of his personality than anything else. In this regard I feel that there is a possibility of constructing ideal or polar types under each category such as bureaucrat, educationist, politician or philosopher. In each case the Brahmanical self-image requires proper analysis. Very often it is a combination of roles that presents the difficulty in analysis as these intersect the social control dimension of the Brahmin's personality at various points. It is perhaps not out of place to warn the reader that what has been attempted in the subsequent chapters is but a mere sketch for the sake of suggestiveness for further research.

CHAPTER VI

THE THREE GREAT ROLES OF THE BRAHMIN

(a) The Brahmin as the Bureaucrat

ONE OF the powerful means of social control employed by the Brahmins during modern times has been bureaucracy. The power-structure of Brahmins in the Indian officialdom is a well known fact among the educated classes in India. Bureaucracy in India in the modern sense is essentially a creation of the British rulers. The entry of the Brahmins in Bureaucracy therefore dates back to the beginning of public administration in India. However the behaviour-patterns of the Brahmins in bureaucracy have all along been conditioned by the familistic and religious experiences in the outer society.

The two main strands of motivation that impell the Brahmins to join the bureaucracy are (1) the anxiety to maintain their status situation and (2) the craving for authoritarianism. Now let us go into these in a little detail. The Brahmins as a class of priests acquired a status in society with parasitic economic position. When they became administrators and advisers to Kings and chieftains they had again acquired an important status which they sedulously tried to preserve in the interests of their group across the long centuries of Indian history. But unfortunately nowhere did they succeed in doing so for more than short periods. Whereas the Brahmins thus retained their status as a class of hereditary priests no where we find them to have attained the status of hereditary administrators. The Brahmin's incessant struggle to recapture his lost status situation thus constitutes the main drama of Indian history—as history has been understood in India so far viz. the struggle of one dynasty over another especially during the Hindu period of Indian history. When their activities in the direction were curtailed by foreign invasions such as that of the Turks and Mughals the Brahmins had to withdraw themselves into comparatively secure life within the few Hindu kingdoms which offered spirited resistance to the invader. Even during the British period of Indian history the Brahmin's efforts to consolidate his status situation was more prominent and successful within the princely states of India rather than in 'British India' where social forces were regrouped in a different way and the representation of caste in bureaucracy did not entirely depend on the traditional system of social honour as on education and adaptability to the norms and mores of the new military and cultural conqueror. And even in this situation the Brahmins as a class naturally asserted themselves (as is seen from the records of Indian history) and succeeded in acquiring an enviable position for, they were in the forefront of education and their adaptability and submission to the new regime were matched only by their ingenuity and calculated behaviour in everything else.

The transition from British rule to complete independence did not in any sense change the status situation of the Brahmins who had already consolidated their hold over Indian bureaucracy. It only afforded them the rare opportunity to exercise social control over the masses of India using bureaucracy as the instrument for this purpose. To the extent in which the Brahmin gained admission to the ranks of bureaucracy he began to give up his traditional preferences for other professions. Thus the son of a priest becomes a teacher or educationist while the latter's son becomes an administrator. From the third generation onwards it is most unlikely that a member of the original family will take to anything else as a career except administration or similar liberal professions controlled by the State. This can be explained sociologically in the words of Max Weber as follows: *"Status" is a quality of social honour or the lack of it and is in the main conditioned as well as expressed through a specific style. Social honour can stick directly to a class situation and is also indeed, most of the time determined by the average class situation of the status-group members. This however is not necessarily the case. Status membership in turn, influences the class situation in that the style of life required by status groups makes them prefer special kinds of property* *or gainful pursuits and reject others".* [125] In fact this is true not only of the Brahmins in the bureaucracy but also of all other groups that have found a permanent foothold in the administrative system of India. It is the combined efforts of these groups within the bureaucracy to consolidate their status situations and retain their gainful occupation that have led to the development in the size of bureaucracy and threaten to make it a *Leviathan* today*.

There has indeed been a quantitative increase in work and this has been phenomenal since the last world war. The change in the quality of the work in relation to the task assigned to the bureacrat is also an important factor leading to the employment of fresh set of hands. These fresh sets of hands should normally be recruited through open competition by all-India examination but it is a patent fact that a large number of posts are actually distributed by status groups within the bureaucracy to members of their group while only a narrow margin is usually left for open competition among all classes of educated young men. A study of the recruitment to the public services since independence including ad hoc appointments as well as selection through competitive examination and open recruitment should amply prove this contention. The practical problem of making jobs available to all classes of educated youngmen would remain unsolved in India as long as the present tendency of status groups within the Indian bureaucracy to corner jobs for members of their groups continues to the exclusion of all other categories of persons who have not attained the status-group situation. For, status grouping on the analogy of the caste system is at the very root of Indian bureaucratic organisation. Witness for example the classification of jobs into Class I, II, III and IV and also the undefined sacrosanctity attached to Gazetted posts as contrasted with Non-gazetted posts. It will be interesting and indeed revealing to count the number of Brahmins in each one of these classes of posts and draw one's conclusions*.

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* The theoretical position is best understood in terms of Laswell's proposition "power groups develop into hierarchies". "A group exercising power diversifies its power-practices in a coordinated structure of superiors and subordinates. This serves the principled interests of the power-group in accord with the familiar advantages of the division of labour. Accordingly, a hierarchy is the more complex the greater the scope and domain of the power exercised. An even more important factor making for hierarchy is the expediency interests of the group. The establishment of a mode of hierarchy is a mode of resolving conflicts among power groups with overlapping domains and scope. As Timasheff explains: "The tendency of power structures to form larger complex systems is rooted in their very essence. Systems of domination which remained independent of one another and at the same time claimed obedience within the same social field from the same individuals would encounter conflicts. Conflicts among power structures result either in the destruction of all conflicting units or in a combination of them into hierarchies". N. S. Timasheff in *Introduction to Sociology of Law*, Harvard University Press, 1939, also quoted by Harold D. Laswell and Abraham Kaplan, London, 1952, p. 205.

This is also the reason why Indian bureaucracy has contributed so little to the levelling of social differences. In fact during British administration the chances were greater for the bureaucracy to level down social differences as the British administrator had believed more in the recognition of the merit of the individual and attached practically no value to the fact of his belonging to a status-group. He was no doubt conscious of the importance of the sponsorship which a new aspirant brought from a trusted civil servant or public man as his credentials especially in the higher rungs of bureaucratic posts. Otherwise the emphasis was on individual merit as the chief criterion for departmental promotion. Let us also not forget that it was the British administrator who opened the doors of bureaucracy to members of the so-called untouchables and the depressed classes. The safeguards given to these people outside the caste hierarchy of Hinduism is something very precious to them. Whether the Brahmanical revival under present conditions will still allow them the preferences shown by the British administrator is a matter of serious doubt. In fact the danger as feared by the scheduled and depressed classes lies in the direction of their being grouped as Hindus with equal opportunities under Indian constitution and deprived of their safeguards. Well might the Brahmin ask, "why should we give the scheduled castes and untouchables special treatment anymore when the opportunities are the same and are safeguarded by our secular constitution? It is feared by their leaders of opinion that the Brahmins as a power group within the Indian bureaucracy might thus succeed in levelling up this special treatment of the depressed and backward classes for their own selfish ends. They will thus further prevent the real levelling of social differences which would mean that they will be enabled to consolidate their status group further within the bureaucratic hierarchy. Even the thin margin left open for competition will not relieve the situation for the masses of educated unemployed as the competition from young Brahmins on the one hand and the controls weilded by Brahmins as gate keepers of bureaucracy on the other, operates as a sluice valve often to exclude the less industrious and less favoured candidates from entry into the administrative cadres. It is thus difficult to escape the Brahmin at any stage even in the bureaucracy with this characteristic principle of "abstract regularity of the execution of authority which is the demand for equality before law" in [126] the personal and functional sense governing life from recruitment to the service upto the retirement from it at superannuation. Theoretically the above situation in bureaucracy is reminiscent of what was illustrated of the behaviour of Brahmanical groups in local and regional Hinduism.

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* *Kshatram Karma dvijaswokvam vaisyam karma thadhapi Rajanysya cha vaisyoktam sudrakarama na chaithayoh—Vishnupurana.* Even in times of distress the Vishnupurana enjoins upon the Brahmins and the Kshatriyas not to take to the duties of the Sudras.

The Structuration of Groups in Bureaucracy

Now we come to the lesser known instances of the Brahmin's relation with bureaucracy. This mainly relates to the power structure of the Brahmanical status groups in the Indian bureaucracy and its components. The basis of the power structure of the Brahmins is their authoritarianism. The lone Brahmin is a weak individual and hence employs strategem to win his ends. As a group, a well-knit power group they employ anonymous authority and moral coercion.

To be authoritarian in the psychological sense means *"to seek for new secondary bonds as a substitute for the primary bonds which have been lost—the tendency to give up the independence of one's own individual self and to fuse ones' self with somebody or something outside oneself in order to acquire the strength which the individual self is lacking"*. [127] It is the Brahmin's search for 'secondary bonds' which led him to the organised form of institutional life. He is then found to be a member of all groups within the society while retaining membership of his own specific group. Whether as a municipal councillor, member of political party or as a cog in the administrative machinery or a member of the all-India Services he is an ideal member and the most *'permeable'*. He is close to it in order to acquire strength which his individual self is lacking. Who will not testify for example to the South Indian Brahmin's fine qualities as the law abiding member of the group, an association, committee or club?*

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* If we follow Robert Merton's analysis contained in his *Social Theory and Social Structure* and attempt to chalk out a typology of modes of the individual Brahmin's adaptation we should class them as *Conformity, Ritualism* and *Retreatism.* We have already stated that bureaucracy in India is being actively used as an institutionalized means to further the Brahmanical culture goal. Hence the key mode of adaptation by the Brahmin in bureaucracy is conformity to the rules and practices of the Government. The Brahmin is noted for his over-conformity in the matter of Accounts, Audit and similar functions in Government. On the other hand, Brahmins who do not identify themselves with the accepted cultural goals of their group through lack of intelligent awareness or education are found to be ritualists of a rigid type. As R. Merton rightly points out "It is the mode of adaptation of individually seeking a private escape from the danger and frustrations which seem to them inherent in the competition for major cultural goals by abandoning these goals and clinging all the more closely to the safe routines and the institutional norms" (vide p. 151). Ritualism among Brahmin employees in the clerical and lower rungs of the official hierarchy is perhaps a reflex of their class situation, depending on the economic position of the family etc. which compels the primary pursuit of earning a livelihood rather than entertain ambitions of advancing the cultural goals. Retreatism is a type of adaptation less prominent in Central Govt. offices. It is most commonly noticed in provincial Govt. offices particularly in Madras where the competition within Govt. as among Brahmins themselves at the lower levels is

But once the Brahmin attains personal ascendancy over his peers—followers his authoritarian instincts manifest themselves. In his inter-personal authority the Brahmin may still retain his virtues and behave himself. But once he finds himself in a position of authority his behaviour is found to be mainly made up of a symbiotic complex of Sadistic and masochistic strivings. The Sadistic tendencies have their origin in his innate belief in his superiority as compared to others. The masochistic tendencies have their roots in the Brahmanical cosmology which reduces the individual self as something very puny when compared to the immensity of the universe and its diversity. Much of India's cultural heritage can be explained in terms of these symbiotic drives of the Brahmin. The rule of the Peshawas in Maharashtra affords a classic example. As the Supreme head of a Government or administration or even of an institution, the Brahmin can seldom fail to generate opposition due to his overt and offensive authority. Hence we can cite such a notable example of a learned and dynamic South Indian Brahmin, a former Dewan of a princely State, fleeing from it in disgrace since the people would stand no more nonsense of his tyrannical authority. There are other examples of a dynamic and brilliant Secretary of the Central Government being caught up in doing things contrary to the rules of the Government and finally brought to face trial in Court. It is perhaps the symbiotic drives of another Brahmin from South India which makes him at once a great disciplinarian political leader of South India and also the meek philosopher who aims at a Brahmanical revival in his own characteristic way.

Historically speaking, it is the Brahmin's failure to succeed in overt authority *vis-á-vis* the masses that made him

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quite strong. "This mode of adaptation is most likely to occur when both culture goals and the institutional practices have been thoroughly assimilated by the individual and imbued with affect and high value, but accessible institutional avenues are not productive of success" (vide p. 153). The increase of retreatism in Madras due to the anti-Brahmanical campaigns of the Dravid Kazhagam have been to a large extent the ostensible reason for the emigration of Tamil Brahmins to North India.

the most astute person and exponent of anonymous authority. Anonymous authority is admittedly most effective in modern society because it does not prepare the minds of the masses for opposition and resistance as they never suspect that there is an order which they are expected to follow. There is thus at present an influential group led by Sardar K. M. Panikkar and supported by the Brahmins that Hindu society being essentially secular the law should be made the instrument for its transformation. [128] Panikkar's analysis of Hindu society is perhaps in no sense motivated to please the Brahmins or any other groups in India. In fact he is the neo-Hindu par excellence and can be trusted to advance the case of the masses rather than that of a small group. Law in India as everywhere else, has been an instrument of class domination. As a coercive function of the Government under the cloak of anonymous authority it will only lead to the enforcement of the will of a small minority or status group that dominate the bureaucracy in India. While therefore the idea of using law as the motive force of change and innovation in Indian society is basically sound, it will not achieve its ends unless it is ensured that it does not seek to enforce the anonymous authority of a status-group, who will resist any far reaching change that threatens to dethrone them from their status situation. For the Brahmin not even the law of the state is sacred unless it subserves the interest of his status-group'. Witness for example the events leading to the Medappa case (Mysore)* [129] in which an effort was alleg-

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* It must be remarked here that it was not merely an example of the bane of caste—loyalties that was manifested in this case but also an interesting constitutional point. Commenting on this Prof. C. H. Alexandrowicz states as follows:

"Though the federal framework was at first imposed by the centre (in India) from above, it was open to subsequent transactions in which centre and regional committee occupied an independent negotiating position. As will be seen, the outcome of negotiation and the resulting agreements were embodied in the enactments implementing reorganization.

But even before reorganization the independent demeanour of local states was significant enough to exclude India from the category of administrative formations of a quasi-federal character. As mentioned edly made to amend the Indian Constitution so as to suit the defendants' interests. The Sadistic element in the symbiotic complex of the Brahmin will yield place to a stronger strain of masochism in the form of greater faith in Brahmanical cosmology provided the enforcement of law does not mean the carrying out of his authority and forms in its stead the united wills of all classes of representative public opinion as befitting to a secular democracy. Viewed in this way one may confidently expect the greatest religious revival of popular Hinduism only when the country comes under a political ideology such as communism which in spite of the leadership being composed of Brahmins at present may allow no room for the Brahmin status-group to exercise the same authority once it succeeds in capturing political authority† in India. The greatest weapon wielded by the Brahmin against the spread of communism among the masses in India is, therefore, the revival of popular Hinduism. Metaphorically speaking, the Brahmin is the originator of the superman and, therefore, he would be ever anxious to attain powers of

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above, Professor Wheare considers the constitution of India quasi-federal mainly because of the provisions of Articles 249, 352-356 and 371. The provisions of the last article gave as we have seen, control over Part B States (formerly Princely States) to the President. The President acting in exercise of this power issued in 1953 a direction ordering the transfer of a trial in the High Court of Mysore to another State, the reason being that the Chief Justice of Mysore was the potential victim of a criminal offence which gave rise to the trial. The authorities of the State (Legislature and Executive), took strong exception to the President's order as offending its sovereign rights and the President was finally forced to withdraw the order. Moreover the State was exempted from the provisions of Article 371 and became so to speak the torchbearer of the constitutional progress of Part 'B' States immediately came forward demanding their equalization with Part 'A' States. Thus the application of Article 371 in practice can hardly justify the assertion that India is a quasi-federation. Local Parliamentary Government proved vigorous enough to resist undue interference from the centre."

See C. H. Alexandrowicz on 'India before and after reorganization'—*Year book of World Affairs.* The London Institute of World Affairs, Stevens and Sons Ltd., London, 1958. p. 140.

†The developments in Kerala in this direction would be an interesting subject for study.

strength firstly for his status groups and secondly for himself, a process which will afford him the chances to exercise overt authority in a limited sphere as well as anonymous authority in a larger sphere as for example in reshaping the lives of the masses according to the Brahmanical ego-ideal. Hence it is important to study the Brahmin's attitude towards the neo-Indian.

The average educated Indian of today has already learnt the basic language of the Brahmin status-group in its symbolic context. He has been indoctrinated, so to say, into their cultural mythology, in the sense of the history of Hindu society, into the larger social values, into behavioral principles and into institutional and other enduring ideologies. [130] Theoretically the Brahmin has provided the common man in India with a working definition of the universe at large and of his relation with the universe. He has inducted him into his own masochistic philosophy that saps effort while the Sadistic element of his nature to expand spread and control is something that is not imparted in direct terms. A theory of action or a philosophy based on action is not explicit in Brahmanical thinking so that it does not catch the eye of the average student of the Brahmanical ideas. [131] Often he has to delve deep into them before he can find this grain of essential truth about the Brahmin's own nature. Indeed if Brahmanical Hinduism had used less circumlocution and believed in more direct speech (as the Buddha did) the masses of India who came under Brahmanical Hinduism would have been richer by that experience instead of being the automata that they have become today. But unless the reverse had happened where would have been the automaton stimulus response system of the Hindu society dominated by the Brahmins? It is inconceivable otherwise. The Brahmin therefore cannot live without the masses. A question that agitates the mind of the non-Brahmins, particularly in South India mostly among the upper castes is: should the masses feel grateful towards the Brahmins? Many a non-Brahmin would vociferously make protestations of his loyalty and respect and advance his reason why they should do so unconditionally. It is an essential premise of the counter-control that we envisage in this section of this essay that the masses should not feel any sense of obligation towards the Brahmin and that unless this is accepted on all hands the power structure of the Brahmin status-group in the bureaucracy might continue and render all attempts at counter-control ineffective. Paradoxically enough counter-control again will only succeed in propping up the Brahmin rather than make him merge with the masses.

The Formation of Status-groups

The fact of the situation is that the Brahmins after the attainment of Indian independence are found to be indirectly claiming status rights for services previously rendered and also for the obligations created after independence. Witness for example the stampede for places of power and remuneration among the Brahmins in the political parties on the ground that they went to jail in the cause of the national freedom. On this analogy the Brahmins of India are everywhere indirectly claiming status rights by creating obligations for society. The Kashmiri Brahmin feels a distinct pride in belonging to the same status group as Pandit Nehru even though the latter may disown the very idea. On a smaller scale there have been far too many instances in Indian bureaucracy where a son was foisted on the administration in a highly paid post on the ground that his father, a respectable Brahmin, had formerly rendered meritorious services to the state. The operation of the technique of counter-control requires that there should be a clear understanding and balancing of the status rights and status obligations in the interest of social justice. And bureaucracy is the main sphere in which this should be observed. A brilliant Government official who served the interests of the country in an outstanding fashion should have no moral reason to feel that society is obliged to him and that in return for his services his mediocre son should be provided with a high ranking post. Nor should he exert himself to smoothen the rise to power of a brilliant son who by common consent is a chip of the old block. This is due to the fact that the organisational ascendancy of the Brahmins as a status group is so noticeably rampant in every branch of the bureaucracy and even statutorily autonomous bodies. Their inter-organisational ascendancy is further, a factor that is all powerful in deciding this issue of recognition by the masses of their past and present services. Witness for example the happy relation that exist between Brahmins inside the bureaucracy and those outside it, holding important positions ranging from managers of private firms to official and non-official councillors to foreign business interests or embassies. As between these there is perfect understanding and if ever there is going to be a foreign-inspired political upheaval or interference in Indian domestic affairs it will not and cannot take place without the active assistance or at least the connivance of the redoubtable Brahmins. This is an inference from the annals of Indian history. In the political processes of Indian history, the Brahmin's role has been to make every succession to a King, reform initiated by a King or a palace revolution function as substitutes for political and social revolution. Any radical change in Indian society at the present day too is limited by the capacity of the Brahmin bureaucrat to employ substitutes through the economic planning of his own conception and execution. [132] It is certain that the Brahmins today are actively creating obligations for the society of tomorrow and to that extent it may be safely assumed that the neo-Indian cannot come up on his own and will suffer from a sort of '*inhibited authority*'. It is, therefore, high time that the common man acquired a better understanding of the present trends.

Another thing is that there has been a great deal of the process known as '*transferability of status*', some times also called the '*halo status*'. This was attempted by former Brahmin Dewans of Travancore and other princely states. In many a cases the Dewan after successfully becoming the crowd-exponent within the state, often to the disadvantage and obscurity of the ruler himself, sought to fill up key posts with fellow Brahmins brought from outside the State. In the bureaucratic structure of present day there are similarly many instances to prove that the power group of Brahmins in the centre bring their friends and proteges from the provinces even if they happen to be retired officials, engineers, judges etc. The horizontal mobility that is inherent in the status-group of the Brahmins especially the South Indian Brahmin bureaucrats is something that actively promotes their structuration even under changed conditions and in places far removed from their social *milieu*. Another interesting aspect of the granting of 'halo status' is the clever way in which the prestige of an 'official climber' is dramatised while a group of persons try to fabricate a sort of 'halo status'. According to a friend of mine a very interesting example is the stenographers of the Central Government who have an 'occupational sub-culture' of their own. There have been instances of individuals who by dint of hard work and perseverence raised their status from stenographers to responsible officials of the Government during the British period. There are a few who are still retaining important posts. The 'halo status', however, was derived from one or two outstanding cases of men who played a prominent part in the Government in times of crisis such as partition of India and in the immediate post-independence period. These became the professional heroes of a band of stenographers among whom the Tamil Brahmins figure prominently. When, therefore, the reorganisation of services took place in 1947, the stenographers had already succeeded in manoeuvring themselves into a highly vantage position from which they could be selected to higher posts under the Government—a possibility that could not have surpassed their dreams before. The narrowness of interests attached to a profession, composed of moderately educated persons was thus wiped off overnight when a batch of stenographers became the very pillars of bureaucracy itself. And their ranks began to be swelled and strengthened regularly by more selected additions. From the psychological angle it should not be forgotten that access to information (particularly official secrets) confers status and in this respect the advantages of the 'occupational sub-culture' referred to above must be obvious to the reader. It will not also be an exaggeration to state that the most ardent votaries of Pitman's shorthand and the Remington typewriter have been, ever since their introduction in India, the Tamil Brahmins. And this has been so not without its dynamic reasons.

Yet another interesting aspect of the reorganisation of the services is the effort made by the Brahmin element in the administrative services to smoothen their eligibility to higher posts by the waiving of the condition on University degrees. University degrees have been the essential hall mark for entry into Government service for too long. The impatience of a small group without these degrees to enter posts of power and authority has been making itself felt for too long. Of course the whole process of acquiring University degrees has been simplified by the enterprising displaced persons who poured into New Delhi and other towns of Northern India after partition. And yet the Brahmin 'official climber' did not feel quite happy about them. He would in all likelihood feel at ease only when the non-essentiality of University degree is officially recognised, that is to say as being no more an essential prerequisite for the elevation to important posts. And it can be safely predicted that all other conditions being equal it will be the Brahmin who will benefit most from this proposed measure, if ever it comes to pass.

The horizontal mobility of Brahmins as status-groups in India will become a reality only to the extent that the obstacles in the way are removed consciously by the elite among the Brahmins who are at present well-placed in the bureaucracy in India. The village and the small town is the recruitment base for this purpose where young Brahmins bereft of the chances to attend a college course through lack of funds are compelled to accept minor clerical jobs or start hotels or try other kinds of small trade or commerce. Here again they will not have to stagnate for long as the Brahmin bureaucrat by common consent will succour them if he chances to pass their way. Thus the people of Travancore State witnessed the heyday of the Brahmins when their representative retained powers as the 'Sachivottama (Ideal Dewan) to the ruler for a considerably long period. Similar instances could be cited of other princely states also. Will it not be true to surmise that the Brahmins in the bureaucracy are thriving mainly because of the 'halo status' conferred on them by the towering personality of our beloved Prime Minister?

The bane of Indian bureaucracy according to its severe critics is that it has allowed scope for the advancement of group-interests and narrow cultural goals and thus nullified the advantages of a formal and rational organisation that was left behind by the British as their greatest legacy. With the greater emphasis on ritualism at the lower levels, the higher rungs were left open to the prevailing normlessness and made to reflect the strains in the broader society itself. There are few things that would weaken bureaucracy in India further than the relaxation of the rules for allowing the ritualist Brahmin clerk or his prototype to gravitate upwards. The ritualist when magnified into the Head of the Office or Department does not add to the strength of bureaucracy but reinvests it with the mode of adaptation that he internalizes in his mind as his greatest strength. The dynamics of adaptation in bureaucracy is no doubt limited by numerous other factors. However the foremost cause operating as a curb on adaptation and stultifies the many-sided development of the personality of the office worker is the impedimenta, placed on his way by the Brahmin bureaucratic virtuoso who rose from the ranks and is the advocate of over-conformity and ritualism. Let us recall that behind this over-conformity or over-compliance lies an acute sense of status-anxiety.

The Dynamics of Adjustment in Bureaucracy

An important inference that could be drawn from the foregoing analysis of the Brahmin's role as bureaucrat is the prevalence of what the celebrated social psychologist Gardiner Murphy called in a general theoretical context, the '*autistic thinking*' among them. Whatever be the nature of the functional role performed by the average Tamil Brahmin there is this noticeable factor in his personality make-up. In matters of work he is seldom found wanting and has an infinite capacity for hard and painstaking work. But his impulsive life is that of an injured ego and motivations and actions are conditioned by anxiety and frustration. Hence within the framework the bureaucracy itself there comes about an interplay of '*socially shared autisms*' as between the Brahmin group of officials and those belonging to other dominant social groups that have established themselves in various vantage points of the official hierarchy. The social control dimension of these groups operate simultaneously so that Government offices normally become an arena for communal tensions and machinations. The cultural content of Indian bureaucracy thus exerts a strong anomic pressure on it and thereby in the long process affects society as well. I have separately covered this aspect of the situation in a theoretical paper in Part II of this book. I would like to add, however, that one cannot merely confine one's observations to this sort of '*loaded thinking and perceiving*' by the Brahmin bureaucrats but that one should extend one's view to cover the dynamic adjustments that the group has been making to changing situations and fortunes.

The adaptability of the Brahmin to every changing social circumstance or environment has an unmistakably dynamic quality about it. For him adjustment has been a process of survival. No time is lost in trial or error method. It is essentially a spontaneous and instinctual response to meet the challenge and immediacy of a new social situation that would long have been foreseen by him through *insight*. The question arises now as to what kind of adjustment this is and whether this is a normal adjustment or an abnormal adjustment. The normal adjustment, as reflected within bureaucracy is confined to only those individuals who belong to the same city and who are established there for a long time e.g. the North-Indian element working in the Central Secretariat at New Delhi. There is a certain passivity about them that cannot escape the notice of the observer. Attitudes and behaviour patterns began changing in this group only with the partition of India and the arrival of dispossessed relatives from the former Punjab Province. But for an immigrant worker such as the Tamil Brahmin or the Keralite there is a *challenge* to be faced within the new environment not only within the Government but also outside it. It is in the dynamic *response* to that *challenge* that persons hailing from dreamy Madras or the placid villages of Kerala display their intrinsic qualities. The intellect is sharpened and behaviour-patterns assume an ethnocentric character that before long develop into a defence mechanism in the individual's as well as the group's relations with other groups within the *work-milieu* and also towards the outer society. In strict psychological terms, it is not the intelligence that is nourished in the process but impulses and attitudes that load the thinking and affect action in all walks of life. In this process there is yet another casuality and that is individual creativeness. All positive social feeling is also lost. Government functionaries cannot be creative as long as they are wedded to *social autisms* within bureaucracy because *autistic thinking* does not leave much scope for creativeness and will only seek to make a sham of it. We have already observed the "halo-status" conferred on senior government officials, "*the complementarity of expectations*" shared by the group members towards a senior official of the group and all the connected phenomena. Individual creativeness within a group inside bureaucracy results, therefore, from abnormal adjustment of the individual largely due to his abnormal strains themselves. This is a residuum of a situation when the interplay of social-control dimensions of conflicting communal, provincial or caste groups smother individual or group effort in general. Paranoiacs among bureaucrats, or the sons of well-placed Government servants have the scope of attempting creative efforts, the former under the abnormal adjustment brought about by his internal conflicts and the latter by the comfortable feeling of a normal adjustment free from anxiety about his status-situation. Original ideas offered by government officials have therefore to be analysed and traced to their matrix of adjustment, normal or abnormal and not merely in terms of sheer intelligence that the individual is credited to possess or on the basis of his educational equipment.

There are certain preconditions for creativeness in all sectors of society. Bureaucracy being formal and permanent in its organization it is possible to discover '*a developmental profile*' of the Brahmin's personality. Following the Laswellian teachings we can make use of the inferences for further study. "By viewing the totality of relationships which constitute culture, and the environing cultures, we have the developmental profile of the culture".* The personality system of the Brah-

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*See Harold Laswell in *The Analysis of Political Behaviour, An Empirical Approach*, London, 1949, pp. 218-221.

min can be analysed only by effective observation methods. It is not merely cultural in the sense of a direct observation of one Brahmanical group in one institution or in a '*circumscribed situation*'. Indirect observation is also highly essential under both categories. It is also possible to make a systematic observation of '*externalized* and *internalized*' acts. Cultural ideology is largely internalized in the Brahmin. Its externalization is noticed in a '*circumscribed situation*' such as bureaucratic context only when the general cultural context of that situation is great and not otherwise. Take for example the case of a culture-conscious, ethnocentric official of the Central Government. When he is taken out and sent abroad on a foreign service assignment his personality system undergoes certain drastic changes. What was his internalized acts before gets externalized in a foreign environment. In strict cultural terms, the stimulus that he can obtain from a foreign environment to his super-ego is greatly limited. There are no collectively externalized acts of his group from which he may draw sustenance. The lone Brahmin in a foreign *milieu* is of no interest to the social psychologist unless his cultural identity is already known to the group within which he lives and acts. It is perhaps this fundamental weakness of the lone individual's inability to give a cultural emphasis to the group ideals abroad that dissuaded the Brahmins from going abroad singly or in small groups and canonical injunctions were adduced for the purpose. But, wherever the groups had emigrated with a strong cultural motivation (apostolic motivation) as for example, in some of the South-East Asian countries, group activity had been rendered successful by reason of their having shared the same ideas and acted in concert in implementation of the same. On the same anology, unless there is a group of substantial number of persons acting in concert within bureaucracy itself, it is not possible to discern any cultural significance of their externalized acts. With the Brahmin it is group activity that matters and in a larger context personal differences are submerged; even those that are distinctly due to differences in *gothrams* or denominations, barriers of language or cultural traits with ecological significance, so as to be able to work in concert in the matter of social control. Brahmins are creative today in a group context essentially on cultural grounds and seldom otherwise. For the individual Brahmin to become creative, he has to be '*hypnotised*' to free his intelligence from meaningful yet wrong rationalizations. The '*mind-forged manacles*' of the caste-complex has to be replaced by a positive social feeling so that he could free his intelligence for creative purposes unrelated to the interests of his group alone and rather for the welfare of humanity as a whole. The *individual* and *social therapy* required in order to bring about this change towards creative action, should be largely with the conscious acquiescence of the Brahmins themselves. "Brahmin! heal thyself". This is the best exhortation that the social psychologist can address to him. Disrupting the Brahmanical personality system by force is not advisable as it will render Indian society poorer to that extent. The motive-force of change should come from the mind of the Brahmin himself through persuasion and appeal. And in a sense this is the purpose of the present writer also—even though he cannot with honesty reconcile this value-judgment with his loyalty towards the discipline of sociology.

The Characterological Prototypes of Brahmins

While we are on the subject of the authoritarianism of the Indian Brahmin (Tamilian type) we should not fail to observe that there is a tremendous scope for study in India in this field covering the *ethnic differences in authoritarian personality* particularly among the upper castes as exemplified in bureaucracy, political parties and other institutional life. So far as the South Indian Brahmin is concerned, I feel that the 'authoritarian potential' in his personality is supplied by his awareness of the ethnic difference which is further conditioned by the fact of his belonging to a twice-born caste and to a minority-group in the South. This fact has already been touched by me earlier in regard to the 'Nambudri' of Kerala and the 'Parpars' of Tamilnad. In this respect there is a parallel with the Negro sub-groups in the United States and their higher susceptibility to authoritarianism. This is derived from the experiences peculiar to the Negroes which stimulate "greater conventionalism, authoritarian aggression and submission, respect for power and toughness and in general a high degree of authoritarianism." (See C. V. Smith and J. W. Prothero of Florida University on 'Ethnic Differences In Authoritarian Personality' in *Social Forces*, Vol. 35, No. 4, May, 1957). Smith and Prothero cite the example given by two other specialists in the field, George E. Simpson and J. Milton Yinger in *Racial Relations and Cultural Minorities*, New York, Harper Bros., 1953, p. 165 as follows:

> "In American society a high proportion of non-caucasian children come to see themselves at an early age as somehow different from white children—unable to do certain things, go to certain places, rebuffed by words and violence. From early childhood to death minority group members are likely to experience a long series of events, from exclusion from play groups and cliques to violence and the threat of violence that are far less likely to be experienced by the average member of the majority group. . . . *The great weight of prejudice and discrimination often cramps and distorts the personality development of the minority group member*". (Italics mine).

The dimension of upper caste status is admittedly not enjoyed by the Brahmin in all societies in India or even in South India, not to speak of tribal society. The Malayali Brahmin group that finds itself in a large Nayar-dominated village or township in Kerala is apt to produce the same effect on its members as described by Simpson and Yinger above. My observations confirm my belief that the distorted personality of the Malayali Brahmin of Kerala (Palghat) is apt to acquire a greater authoritarian potential than his Tamil counterpart for, the Brahmin is most generally despised in Kerala villages and nicknamed with good humour as '*the pattar*'. This situation is actually productive of group-tensions but the scope for it is not so great in villages as in the urban milieu. For an experimental study one might suggest the relations between the non-Brahmin and Brahmin elements employed in the Government or in private firms in large cities like Madras or Bombay. Behind the facade of cordiality and goodwill there is a palpable undercurrent of jealousy and rivalry that is more manifest in the Brahmin than among non-Brahmin castes. This is not to be mistaken for an unfriendly insinuation. It is rather a suggestion for a detailed research on group-tensions in Indian cities. While in terms of their interesting study Smith and Prothero conclude that:

> "Situational factors inherent in a subculture operating on both children and adults in terms of their ethnic group identification and beyond the control of the family, may have an impact great enough to outweigh the influence of child rearing practices". *It is perhaps true to say of the Tamilian Brahmin that his child rearing practices have a greater contributory role in his authoritarianism than the Negro sub-group in the United States. I would refer the reader to my comments on this in the chapter on the "Structure of Hindu Social action.* (Italics mine)

As a social phenomenon it is interesting to note that the authoritarianism of the Brahmin in India does not get isolated in individual types but gets subsumed or routinized in his group at various stages of empiricism. David Riesman's classification of society types could be applied to the Brahmin society also in the sense that as far as the present pattern of evolution reveals there are three phases which control the behavioural and motivational pattern of its members. Linked to the changing population characteristics these types are (1) *tradition-directed,* (2) *inner-directed,* (3) *other-directed.* In the tradition-directed society the charismatic authority of the Brahmin priest was supreme. "Since this type of social order . . . is relatively unchanging, the conformity of the individual tends to be dictated to by a very large degree of power relations among the various age and sex-groups, the castes, professions and so forth—relations which have endured for centuries and are modified but slightly, if at all by successive generations. The culture controls behaviour minutely, while the rules are not so complicated that the young cannot learn them during the period of socialization, careful and rigid etiquette governs the fundamentally influential sphere of heir relationships. Moreover, the culture, in addition to its economic tasks or part of them, provides ritual, routine and religion to occupy and orient everyone. Little energy is directed toward finding new solutions of the age-old problems, let us say, of agricultural technique or 'medicine', the problems to which the people are acculturated.

Furthermore, societies in the phase of high growth potential are characterized by a very low degree of social mobility. The parents train the child to succeed *them* rather to 'succeed' by rising in the social system. Within any given social class society is age-ranked so that a person rises as a cork does in water; it is simply a matter of time and little in him needs to change.

In summary: the major agency for character formation in societies dependent on tradition-direction is the extended family and its environing clan or group. Models for imitation are apt to be generalized in terms of the adult group as a whole rather than confined to the parents. What is imitated is behaviour and specific traits such as bravery or cunning. The growing child does not confront problems of choice different from those he faced his elders face; and his growth is conceived as process of becoming an older and therefore wiser interpreter of tradition."*

The Tamil Brahmin particularly has quite outlived this tradition-directed type of society and joined the ranks of the others to the inner-directed type of society implicitly believing in social control. According to David Riesman the society producing the inner-directed personality type is one of transitional population growth, characterized by a declining death rate and a rapidly growing population.

> "Societies in which inner-direction becomes important, though they are also concerned with behavioural conformity cannot be satisfied with behavioural conformity alone. Too many novel situations are presented, situations which a code cannot encompass in advance. Consequently the problem of personal choice, solved in the earlier period of high growth potentially by channelling choice through rigid social organization, in the period of transitional growth is solved by channelling choice through a rigid though highly individualized character".

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* See *The Lonely Crowd,* A Study of The Changing American Character. New Haven, 1950. Also quoted by Theodore Levitt in 'The Lonely Crowd and the Economic Man'. See the *Quarterly Journal of Economics,* Harvard, Feb. 1956.

> "The source of direction for the individual is 'inner' in the sense that it is implanted early in life by the elders and directed toward generalized but nonetheless inescapably destined goals".

To my mind, this is the characterological prototype of Brahmin that was firmly built during the British occupation of India. The most eminent South Indian Brahmins who are living today conform to this prototype and Sri Rajagopalachari belongs to this group. The goals prescribed by the group are "goals of self-reliance and conquest over new and challenging vicissitudes aimed toward the mastery by the individual of his total environment. The ruling goal to which conformity is prescribed is to become the "Captain of my ship, the master of my soul". But with the attainment of independence the Brahmanical society underwent a further change towards the 'other-directed' type of society. There is, however, no population decline on the analogy of what David Riesman says. But the evolution of personality as stated by him bears a striking similarity. With the reinforcing strength of All-India Hinduism under state-directed efforts the Brahmin came to have supreme confidence in his own merits and past achievements. Hence among upper-classes among Brahmins and the younger generations there emerges "a social character whose behavioural cues are taken from his peers and for whom the standards of value and of action come neither from rigid tradition nor the deeply internalized aspirations of calculating self-seeking through self-help at the expense of his group, but from the group itself. His actions and values are those of which he believes his peers approve. He looks to and mirrors the group's expectations. Instead of the Captaining his ship and the mastering of his soul he is reduced to the bureaucratic position of a helmsman—who conceives his major function as discovering the tides of the sea and then sailing along with them. Under this regimen the problem of personal choice is solved by discovering the peer group's expectations, and following them." To my mind, this explains the unprecedented following commanded by Rajaji and other Brahmin leaders in South India and their unchallenged authoritarianism.

The psychodynamics of the Brahmanical roles in the other-directed type of society that the Brahmin is evolving in India are almost on similar lines to what David Riesman had outlined in regard to the economic man in the U.S A. These are subsumed in terms of five developments that the Brahmin in independent India is actively creating viz: (1) Its glorification of invention and innovation, (2) the rise of scientism in management, (3) the spread of 'human relations' practices, (4) the new emphasis on consulting the consumer about his wants and motives, and (5) the persistence of the inner-directed man in the penumbra between the old inner- and the new other-directed society. However, in terms of concrete developments in India, there are hardly many lineaments that catch our eye. Item Nos. 2 to 4 are admittedly in an incipient stage in India and adopted by only those foreign (European or American) firms that have a well-established business in India in the major cities. And yet the trends are unmistakable and it is undeniable that Indian society is fast getting moulded after the fashion of ultramodern Brahmanical society of the third stage *'under the regimen of other-directedness'*. Perhaps it is also significant in terms of the Tamil Brahmins' leaning towards the capitalistic society of America that some of them have of late become outspoken exponents of the virtues this society. But this is not a uniform tendency either. In the rapidly evolving pattern of Indian society the personality types of the Brahmin may continue to show serious divergences in their preferences for the capitalistic or communistic production systems and yet will not let the rift widen their own ethnic groups or its occupational ideologies. The solution for this lies in synthesis and there lies the key to the understanding of such useful shibbolethes as *'mixed economy'* "of our being able to borrow the best from both the systems" and thrive in a world divided into two armed camps! But behind this other-directed activities and creative efforts the *'economic Brahmin'* is fast evolving with a partiality for his own caste groups and veneration for the tradition-bound, tradition-directed type of Indian society in which his ancestors had exercised pristine charismatic authority. A self-constituted status-situation is evidently incongruous in an other-directed type of society. Hence, this situation again focusses the attention on the ambivalency of the Brahmin's mind as it is exemplified in the psychodynamics of his roles as bureaucrat, teacher, culture hero, politician, economist, top business magnate cum Minister or as he would wish all rolled into one. If the Brahmin could ever forget his cultural self-image and imitate any modern human type it is, I believe, the conventional American type with his back-ground of the 'affluent society'. Sceptics may well mark the trends and test my hypothesis.

(b) *Brahmin as the Teacher and Culture Hero*

As a teacher the Brahmin plays his traditional role and is without an equal. His authoritarianism as a teacher is most rational. He teaches the students to become more and more like himself. His task is the symbolization of knowledge. As an educationist of repute the scope of his activities is enlarged and he gets greater opportunities for teaching the crowd. As the Vice-Chancellor of a University he attains the status of a culture hero. As a public speaker of great ability and fame he becomes a crowd exponent. The rational authority of the Brahmin is, therefore, least resented. Brahmins have all along been brilliant teachers, eloquent speakers, famous educationists, learned professors and sagacious Vice-Chancellors. Education is their own special field, as water is to the fish, a sphere in which the merging of the Brahmin with the masses has most remarkably taken place. This circumstance has produced the largest Brahmanical proto types in society than anything else. It has given the authoritarian philosophy of the Brahmins ("that life in determined by forces outside man's ownself, his interest or wishes") the greatest currency and popularity imaginable. It has provided him with the greatest opportunity for the Sanskritisation of the languages of India especially in South India. In short the Brahmin as the teacher is the greatest agent for the expansion of the automaton stimulus—response system of Hindu society. Counter-control should first make him see the truth in other ways of life and belief before he is entrusted with the task of fashioning the minds of the citizens of tomorrow. The Brahmin should be sent to school before he is sent out to teach the masses. The neo-Indian has to be taught the method of shaping his own character rather than be put to the necessity of learning them under social pressure imposed by the Brahmins in the later years of life. The development of a suitable ideology and a socialist morality are the essentials for the future. Dialectical Gandhism is at best a *'rationalization'* of the Brahmin's mind. It lacks the quality of discovering and uncovering and only confirms the emotional prejudice existing in the Brahmin about things that are non-Brahmanical. The rationalised theory of education usually recommended for the neo-Indian is not the tool for penetration of reality but a post-factum attempt to harmonize the Brahmin's own wishes with existing reality. As a matter of fact the portfolio of education in the Nehru Government had long since independence been held by a Muslim divine and scholar assisted by two able Muslim secretaries. If there had been an accumulation of visible resentment against this situation it was in all probability due to the fact that their presence had prevented the rationalization of a new educational theory and practice by the Brahmin educationists. The details are common knowledge to require any restatement here. Let us however recall that one eminent Brahmin politician of Madras had succeeded for a short time in experimenting his antiquated educational theories with disastrous consequences to a generation of innocent children.

(c) Brahmin and the Socialistic Society

The Brahmanical socialism of India is a unique concept*.

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* "Our socialism is our own variety. And we propose to stick to it. He says: there is no theory so far as your socialism is concerned. So, get a prophet. Well, we do not want a prophet in this country. We create idols and we create symbols and then wipe them off. We have no need for a prophet in order that we could implement a socialist economy and bring into being an egalitarian society.

The trouble about him is, he does not know what this socialism means. His socialism is coterminous with authoritarianism and totali-

It represents the synthesis made by the Brahmin mind of ancient ideas and ideals with their modern developments. It represents a rationalization without the will to change radically. According to its severe critics it is a compromise with the undesirable aspects of Hindu society so that the status situation of the Brahmins could be maintained against all opposing tendencies. It thus represents a stage in the evolution of Indian society when one cultural pattern asserts itself for a certain period so as to be able not to loose its ground completely and yield place to a new society where the status situation of its propagators will be an anachronism. This study thus focusses attention on the *Gemeinschaft—Gesselschaft dichotomy.* The Brahmins belong to the Gemeinschaft organization while the modern evolution is towards the gesselschaft type of society. The ethnocentric Brahmins, as a status group, are, therefore, naturally opposed to a swift transition from the *gemeinschaft* to the *gesselschaft* as this would mean the liberation of the Indian from the bonds of custom and tradition and consequently the over throwing of their own status situation. The dominant traits of Indian political and economic evolution bear the mark of this impasse of the Brahmanical mind and throws light on the ingenious methods adopted by it to circumvent the difficulties on its path. In the field of domestic policy it takes the form of an effort to accelerate the work of the unifying forces of India

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tarianism; it is coterminous with the idea that the individual has no part or lot; and there is the apathy of a party that rules over everybody. That is the organisation which he believes in. Of course, I cannot provide a theory similar to what he has in his mind".

Shri T. T. Krishnamachari, former Minister of Finance in his reply to the General discussion on the Budget in the Lok Sabha on May 31, 1957. He spoke in reply to the Opposition member's speech.

The reader may like to contrast this with the famous words of Lenin quoted below:

"People always have been and they always will be stupid victims of deceit and self-deception in politics until they learn behind every kind of moral, religious, political, social phrase, declaration and promise to seek out the interests of this or that class or classes".

Lenin in *The Three Sources and Three Constituent Parts of Marxism,* 1913.

firstly through the absorption of differing ideologies within the fold of a single purposeful reified ideology and secondly to culturally reintegrate the differing elements and strains in the desired whole through the instrument of the state. On the political plane it takes the shape of an effort to establish the pre-eminence of a political party which is noted for the ascendancy of Brahmins among its ranks with sub-structure based on classes and castes. The Congress Party has many characteristics of the Hindu society in that it has successfully enveloped all dissident groups and as such it claims to represent the masses in all parts of India. Witness for example the astute manner in which socialism was incorporated in the ideology of the Congress Party at the expense of the socialistic party of India after the Avadi Session. The Congress Party in its technique of operation is essentially Hindu both in theory and practice howsoever much staunch Congressmen might try to disprove this. The methods employed are generally speaking both persuasive and compulsive. Persuasion in the psychological sense means *"the expression of the statement of what is to be done in terms of words to which we are conditioned, thus giving the statement a dramatic, inspiring and romantic form. A set of rules of social action is expressed in terms of current persuasive catch words by means of a mythology which dramatizes it as a romantic story."* The Congress Party today is rich with the experience of the last general elections when these techniques were most successfully used. If it wins the next general elections as it is likely to do, it will be largely due to the acceptance of these techniques as the best vote catching devices. Witness for example the organisation of a Party meeting, the uses of temple music to inspire the audience and marshall their votes. An analysis of the contents of speeches made on the occasion will best illustrate the extent to which symbolic language is used for the purpose.

Now let us turn to the foreign policy. The concept of Indian neutralism reviewed from our standpoint, is the outcome of a sense of adequacy about Brahmanical values assimilated with the cultural values imbibed through the Western education. The political liberalism of the British would have found no greater fertile field for its assimilation than the Brahmanical mind even though there is a basic contradiction between the two. Indian neutralism thus reviewed is again a compromise between two opposing ideologies and represents the expansion of the essentially Hindu ego—the Brahmanical self-image—to seek within itself the source of all inspiration and rediscover the remedies for the ills of world. Thus it is that we find behind all the efforts of the Indian Government to mediate and settle international issues there is a robust sense of idealism in the efficacy of the truly Indian way. [132A] This idealism is prominent in the efforts made both by private and official bodies for the spread of Indian culture abroad. Perhaps it is true to a certain extent that the vision of a greater India with the cultural spread of Sanskritic Hinduism still looms large in the Brahmanical mind. Educated classes of Hindus are apt to be irritated at the very suggestion of a similar kind that generally emanate from foreign sources chiefly the Press of colonial powers like France and Great Britain in whose territories Indians are settled down by the thousands. The fact, however, it is undeniable that in countries such as Java, Sumatra, Bali, Indo-China and chiefly in Cambodia it was the Brahmin who spread Sanskritic Hinduism and exercised his social control for several long countries. There is, therefore, a close parallel between the spread of the Sanskritic Hinduism within India as well as outside it. [133] It is, therefore, logical to infer that the present term of 'India that is Bharat' came about through a process of contraction.*

In a previous context we have had occasion to state that the Brahmins employ both *persuasion* and *compulsion* to reinforce their social control under modern conditions of all-

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* There is no power perspective in Indian Foreign policy. It is rather the *privatized perspectives* of the Brahmanical 'counterrelite' that are seeking to make themselves felt in international politics. Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru is the chief architect of India's foreign policy and to that extent only the contra-cultural element among the Brahmins see eye to eye with him and not the orthodox group. It is too early to discern any power-structure within the Indian Foreign service even though trends are worthy of observation.

India Hinduism. Of persuasion we have already spoken enough. The use of compulsive methods is most evident in the sphere of economic development in India. Economically speaking, the efforts of the Brahmin bureaucrats appear to be concentrated in the direction of the enlargement of the scope and functions of the State. The expansion in the activities of the machinery of State is no new phenomenon in India. In fact the present tendencies are quite in keeping with tendencies all over the World. However for the modern Brahmin to actively assist in the process of State interference is something that contradicts his philosophical background unless the very State represents the symbol of his expanded super-ego. State interference versus individual freedom is no longer a political issue in India because the Brahmin bureaucrat representing the state apparatus in India sees nothing amoral in the extension of State control which is in effect the extension of his own social, political and economic control over the masses in India. Thus a great deal of thinking and social awareness have gone behind the steps of the present Government to increase the responsibility of the State for increased economic control. Nationalization of industries has been accepted as a basic tenet of Indian economic planning. This only shows that the official circles in India do not believe in the spontaniety of Indian economic evolution and that they are convinced that intervention is necessary at every stage and that determinism rather than freedom and/or responsibility should be the guiding principle in the colossal task of the re-organisation of Indian economic life. Here again the approach bears the dominant characteristic of the Brahmin mind, that is to say, the vitalizing synthesis that is so much manifest in the spread of Sanskritic Hinduism. The approach in economic planning is thus essentially synthetic, a mixed economy—being replaced by State intervention in rapid stages with the same crusading spirit as the early Brahmins spread and created the frame work of local Hinduism. The Brahmanical mind never produced an economic philosophy in India at any time of its history*. It is however likely that it will produce one in the future provided Indian economic planning succeeds in the long run and reaffirms the infallibility of the Brahmin vis-a-vis the masses. The economic rethinking that is being done in India today cannot fail to produce a synthetic economic philosophy of Brahmin make at once unique and varied on the model of the Sanskritic Hinduism. Witness for example the aptitude shown by the Brahmins for economic and statistical research their efforts to start an economic and statistical service which will be eventually filled up with Brahmin economists. These tendencies could, no doubt, be judged in relation to the general tendencies of the Brahmins to structurize themselves within the bureaucracy and its various cadres and services; but they have all the same qualities of remunerativeness and attraction that make a special appeal to the Brahmin mind, as is evident from the fact that there are still several branches of Government service that have not succeeded in attracting the Brahmin. It can be, safely affirmed, therefore, that in the Government set-up of India of the not too distant future, the Brahmin economist and statistician as well as experts in the Industrial Management cadre will become a status group within Indian bureaucracy in parallel lines to of other groups composed of members of other All-India services* and cadres.

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* An elaborate effort to prove the contrary is contained in Prof. K. T. Shah's work *Ancient Foundations of Economics in India.*

The Brahmin ideal of asceticism is no longer a powerful force in Indian life. Indeed this is an epoch when the teeming millions of Swamis and Sanyasis are being pressed into service for economic planning. The caste system which gave

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* It is paradoxical and yet quite logical in terms of our analysis that this question came up during the Mundhra scandal in which a Brahmin Minister and some prominent Brahmin bureaucrats were involved. A weakening of position in public eye is immediately made up not only on the psychological plane but also in concrete terms of strengthening the status-grorp through effective steps such as strategic transfers, postings and fresh appointments. This may be tested and found true in any context of economic, social or political situation and should furnish the clues for unravelling the tangled political situation in South India. "Let us always catch the public eye and be in the forefront" appears to be the motto while in religious matters of a questionable variety, it is "Let us lie low". This, however, is only an inference.

India the status type of economy is slowly breaking up and releasing the individual from its bondage. [134] These tendencies are likely to reach their culmination in the creation of a new Indian type—the neo-Indian. The concept of the neo-Indian is not an abstraction but a thorough reality. He is in the process of being shaped as a Brahmanical prototype while the entelechy [135] of his personality will make him different in fact as well as in theory. A socialised Brahmin, howsoever, cleverly disguised will not resemble him. Thus the Brahmins may spread under disguise and comouflage Indian ideation. But the masses are bound to shake off the veneer and emerge on their own. This emergence of the masses from the cobweb of Brahmanical social control will synchronise with the true awakening of man in India involving the discovery of his true soul. The sociological function of the Brahmin will have thus been fully completed. Well might the Brahmin exclaim *'Aham Brahmasmi'*.*

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* From the motivational angle the usual criticisms levelled against Brahmanism are either onesided or deeply biased. However, the following deserves attention:

"The crime of Brahmanism is not so much that it created an exclusive caste but that it condemned the non-Brahmins to perpetual subordination and disunion, not so much that it monopolised religions and learning but that it suppressed the intellectual and moral growth of non-Brahmins, not so much that it exaggerated the rituals and sacrifices but that it converted religion into a means of heartless exploitation. Brahmanism has from its very inception down to the present day meant the intellectual and moral starvation of the Hindu masses, the emasculation of the Hindu nation forced to live and die in an atmosphere of inferiority and disunion and the submergence of all true religion in a flood of ceremonialism and its prostitution for the exploitation of the Hindu devotees".

See *The Menace of Hindu Imperialism* by Swami Dharma Theerthaji Maharaj, Lahore, 1942.

EPILOGUE

BRAHMANISM REPRESENTS a great cultural legacy of Ancient India. [136] And Brahmins as a caste has all along constituted themselves as the 'creative minority' in India. In this they had a most important social historical role to play. As Professor Toynbee points out in his monumental study of history the source of action in each society rests with individuals or with a small minority; they constitute the creative minority. "Their problem in relation to the passive, uncreative majority is to make their views prevail and get them put into effect. Since the mass is incapable of mentally and spiritually living through the same experience as the creative minority the best that can be achieved is an acceptance and consequently an imitation by the mass of the outlook and attitude of the leaders. This is the process that Toynbee calls '*mimesis*'. [137] This is the process that has been taking place in India in languages and life style through the centuries of India's cultural history. But the creative leadership of the Brahmins in Indian society has broken down long ago and today they are in fact falling short in their leadership. This is the result of historical evolution of Indian society as also due to the shortcomings of the Brahmins themselves. The Central position of the Brahmin as the highest caste in India is no longer a matter of utmost importance to Indian society as it was before. The present tendencies are to pull him down from his high pedestal and make him rub shoulders with the masses. Individual Brahmin is judged on his merits just as any other non-Brahmin individual. In the words of Dr. A. R. Desai, "This shift from the caste to the individual as a unit of society has brought about convulsive changes in Indian society transforming old social relations. It has been dealing shattering blows to the orthodoxy of Hinduism and the caste social order of the Hindus. The socio-psychological patterns, the religio-ethical norms and even the philosophical outlook of the Hindus determined by the old Hinduism are being increasingly undermined as the process of social relations in all fields, social, legal political, economic and cultural is progressively replacing the heirarchic conception of those relations. A study of the caste and of the process of its steady dissolution today will, further, inevitably make it necessary for the rural sociologist to study the historical genesis of caste and also the Hindu religion and the Hindu culture which are closely bound up with it. It will also show whether Hinduism can survive as an ideology without the existence of caste, the social institutional expression and concretization of Hinduism". [138]

This shift of social emphasis from caste to the individual as a unit of society is something that is tangibly taking place. But it is by no means a rapid shift, nor does it immediately follow rapid economic changes as its corollary. It is to a great extent bound up with the change in outlook brought about through education and social and political changes. Caste is in fact dying a slow death in India and will not release the individual from its clutches so soon. The Brahmin is no longer the active agent of the stratification of society as before. His social control in the various spheres of Indian social life is a bygone thing. All attempts by him to regain his lost supremacy are foredoomed to failure in as much as he has become individualized himself and is no longer the disciplined member of the creative minority. It is fascinating to study the Brahmin province-wise. Even when superficially observed, the South Indian Brahmin will be seen to be the best specimen of the old creative minority who lingers on at present and is making a spasmodic attempt to re-establish his social control through bureaucracy. It is the spearhead of a few South Indian Brahmins who have launched the experiment of consolidating Brahmanical Hinduism in India since independence. The promotion of horizontal mobility among the Brahmins of the various states of India is now taking place within certain limits. At least it is well implied in the concerted working of ethnocentric Brahmin bureaucrats all over India at present. But the Brahmins everywhere have lived as self-centred groups for too long to be able to submerge their internal differences and give a new orientation to the community aspect of their caste. So then, the Brahmin has to merge with the masses very reluctantly or dig his own grave through the perpetuation of his exclusiveness of spirit and rigid social attitudes.*

The function of sociological research in India is not to slander the Brahmin for all the good and bad that he has done and is doing at present but to rediscover him in his true social context and establish his social identity. As Dr. A. R. Desai aptly puts it the task of the sociologist is to 'investigate whether the doctrine of immutable casteism propagated by the Brahmins was the inevitable theoretical outgrowth of a society which remained unaltered and stationary for a remarkably long period as a result of unchanging technique and resultant unvarying division of labour.' Was it because caste persisted for ages and subsequently became rigid and ossified that an illusion was generated in the consciousness of the Hindu Humanity that it was immutable? [139] It is the task of sociologists in India to give the correct answers. But unfortunately pseudo-sociological interpretation by Brahmin scholars themselves are far too rampant so as to afford any fresh line of thinking or research any chance for success. It is a disappointing interpretation of sociological teachings when scholars like Dr. Prabhu attempts a defence and even pleads for the revival of Varna and Asrama institutions in the following terms:

> "In fact the Varna scheme has taken into consideration not merely the biological but also the moral, not merely the social but also the spiritual issues into consideration. The Varna organisation was based not only on biological but also on psychological and even ethical grounds after a reasoned integration of the various aspects of life, individual and social so that a coordination of all these factors may be made concretely available in terms of organised social institution. In this manner, the Varna theory

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* "Ruling classes decline inevitably when they cease to find scope for the capacities through which they rose to power, when they can do longer render social services which they once rendered and when their talents and the services they render loose in importance in the social environment in which they live".

G. Mosca in *The Ruling Class*, McGraw-Hill, New York, 1939.

> along with the Asrama system seeks to achieve social efficiency consistent with and for the sake of the physical, mental and moral wellbeing of the community and its members. The Varna and Asrama schemes were thus conceived to enable the society to make the best of the potentialities in the individual so that through the functioning of the best and the finest that individuals are capable of the best may be formulated and inherited by the group. While the Asrama scheme pre-eminently conceives the proper nature of the individual through life, so that the best and the boldest may be born out of it the Varna scheme dominantly envisages the proper individual and the group in the interests of social efficiency". [140]

Now then, nobody can deny that both Varna and Ashrama institutions had their role to play in the familism of rural societies in ancient India. But for a modern sociologist to go to the extent of advocating its revival, as Dr. Prabhu does in his interesting book, *The Hindu Social Organisation*, Bombay (1954), is something that passes the comprehension of all persons who have social reform in mind. Perhaps the only explanation that can be offered is that Brahmin sociologists are anticipating a loss of face before the Indian intelligentsia when the tools of sociological research are put to use for the unravelling of their social control techniques. Truly speaking the defence of Indian culture does not mean the propping up of the tottering edifice of Brahmanism. I do not wish to see the modern Brahmin sociologist accuse himself and his caste and cry out 'peccavi'. But I do wish that he should be spared the modicum of honesty of purpose and integrity of intellect to collaborate in the general task of the study of Hindu social institutions without making any mental reservation on grounds of caste or community. But unfortunately it is a weakness of the Brahmin mind to trace back every motive force of change in Indian society to the fountain head of his own self-image and wisdom, it is, therefore, characteristic of one eminent sociologist like Dr. Radhakamal Mukherjee to picture the advent of the neo-Indian in the following terms:

> "Out of the economic and social movements will emerge a new conception of the dignity of man in rural India. But perhaps this will wait for some kind of religious idealism or movement

> like that represented in the past by Ramananda, Kabir and Chaitanya. India's dualistic metaphysics has conceived man's trials and sufferings being reciprocated in infinite love and compassion by the Divine suffering and of man's limitation being a phase of divine self-limitation. Could not such a metaphysics give birth to a new consciousness of the majesty and dignity of the common man and sponsor a new countrywide campaign of social goodwill and amelioration born in the womb of aggressive Hinduism". [141]

These are inspiring words no doubt, coming as they do from a great Indian Sociologist of International reputation. However, there has been such an woeful lack of awareness of the social implications of the revival of religious movements in India that the masses have been caught up and enmeshed in their interlacing filaments for centuries. And in this respect we may recall the words of an American thinker Professor John Storck with profit.

> "Religion, however, personal it may be, has a social responsibility. It is not sufficient that the religious experience should issue in an intensely satisfying ecstacy; it must reshape, reform, and reorient the life of the experiencer or it is on a par with every narrow sensuous titillation and excitement. Religion must be judged in terms of its fruits in an enriched and deepened life. This is but another way of saying that the criteria of a satisfactory religious life are to be found in its harmonious correspondence to the whole sum of our activities".
>
> "The test of a religion lies in its relation to what is, as such, non-religious, viz., to the best moral, spiritual, esthetic and intellectual consciousness of the age, as manifested in conduct, thought, ideals and so forth. While these standards may be regarded as external to religion, considered abstractly, they are not external to religious man, since it is in men that ideals have their loci and it is through the actions of men they enter into and reshape the world".*

Yes, let us face the facts. The new Indian will not await to be allowed his birth. He is being born and let us assist him in the process. Every honest Indian Sociologist has to act as his midwife with a keen sense of social responsibility.

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* See John Storck in *Man and Civilization*, Harcourt, Brace and Co., New York, 1927, p. 445.

[illegible] in the past by Ramananda, Kabir and Chaitanya. Today, similar movements [illegible] and [illegible] to [illegible] by the [illegible] of many [illegible] a [illegible]. Could not such a movement give birth to a new consciousness of the worth and dignity of the common man and [illegible] of [illegible]?" (1951)

These are heartening words no doubt, coming as they do from a great Indian Sociologist of international reputation. However, there has been such a woeful lack of awareness of the social implications of the revival of religious movements in India that [illegible] have been caught up and enmeshed in [illegible]. [illegible] we may recall the words of an American [illegible] Professor John [illegible]:

> "Religion, however, personal it may be, has a social reference. It is not sufficient that the religious experience should [illegible] and [illegible] the [illegible] of the experience [illegible] with every [illegible] and [illegible]. Religion must be judged in terms of its fruits in an enriched and deepened life. This is but another way of saying that the criterion of a religious [illegible] life are to be found in its harmonious correspondence to the whole [illegible] of our activities.
>
> "The test of a religion [illegible] in its relation to [illegible] social, spiritual [illegible] of the [illegible] goodness, truth [illegible] well as [illegible]. While these standards may be regarded as [illegible] to religion, [illegible] they are not [illegible]."[1]

Yes, let us face the facts. The new Indian will not easily be [illegible]. He is being born and let us watch him in the process. Every honest Indian Sociologist has to [illegible] with a keen sense of social responsibility.

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[1] John [illegible] in [illegible] and [illegible]. Harper and [illegible], New York, [illegible], p. [illegible].

PART II

RENVOI THEORIQUE

CHAPTER VII

CONCEPTS AND HYPOTHESES

In a short study in historico-analytical sociology such as the present one I have been compelled to use various concepts as tools of analysis that are best understood by the professional sociologist or research student. To the layman, as well as the votaries of other disciplines the study is apt to convey the misleading impression that a very large number of technical terms have been used *a priori* and without any immediate relevance to the subject matter of this book. I have therefore been asked to attempt a theoretical evaluation of this monograph myself and also restate the conceptual tools that I have used in clearer terms of their relation to Indian conditions. As far as the theoretical evaluation is concerned I am anxious not to propound any aggressive theory. However I would refer the reader to the foreword written by Dr. A. R. Desai and pray that he might attempt one on his own, while in regard to the restatement of the various concepts, I have myself been convinced of its usefulness in order solely to focuss greater attention of research students on this type of sociological studies. The aim is not simply to graft these concepts to the Indian social scene after tearing them off their original content, for that would be a sort of plagiarism and hence odious to my mind, but to reappraise and adapt them in terms of their inherent usefulness for a methodology in Indian sociological research. Some of these concepts are the following. The original sources are mentioned alongside each one of them here below:

Which Brahmin?

When we discuss the cultural personality of the Brahmin the question arises as to which type of Brahmin we have to take into consideration as our subject. Superficially viewed, the temptation is to identify the cultural type with this or that type of Brahmin, *Iyer* or *Iyengar* in South India or their counterparts in other regions of India. For purposes of this study, I have in mind the true cultural type of the ritualist vedic Brahmin and it is thus that I had started with the Nambudri Brahmin of Kerala who had in the true Weberian sense exercised charismatic authority. But it is undeniable that the term 'Brahmin' itself is most confusing. My revered friend Mr. John Spiers answered the question in his characteristic way when he wrote to me as follows:—

"People hardly understand yet the real place of the Brahmin in life. It is a psychological and spiritual stage and may pass by some other name in the future if we cannot get the revaluation of the old name. Manu defined it on an Aryan war-footing when the invaders were hardpressed to establish themselves on the pre-Vedic, proto-Dravidian stock of India. That was just politics with later disastrous effects. The Buddha tried to correct it and failed. Others—even the misunderstood Shankara—tried somewhat to modify the meaning of the Brahmin. Narayana Guru alone said "Brahmin and such are not like that". When the caste poison is removed from the words Brahmin etc. what remains? That is the solution really. Anyone who is dedicated to Brahman the Absolute must legitimately be a Brahmin"!! Hence the science of the Absolute taught by Guru Natarajan and John Spiers through the magazine 'Values' is aptly called "Brahmavidya". For a brilliant exposition of this standpoint see '*Values,*' Vol. IV, No. 3, December 1958 devoted to the critique of caste.

Personality Of The Brahmin

My basic definition of Brahmanical Hinduism is that it is the outcome of the personality consequence of the Brahmin in Indian culture. I have been guided in this by the works of Clyde Kluckhon who holds that a theory of personality is simply a set of presuppositions about human nature which does not exclude considerations of the human potentialities. If by human nature is meant the specific form and content of personality it is as Kluckhon holds a pre-eminently social product and hence alterable. The impress of the Brahmin's personality on Indian culture has thus no fixed quality or sacrosanctity about it. It could be made to alter and give way to a rational image of a secular Indian. Hence it was that I conceived the idea of the Brahmins merging with the masses or in other words consciously forsaking their social identity as a status group in Indian society. This has taken me farther into the question of the relation of the Brahmin and the new Indian and the personality integration of the latter. This has again led me to the concepts of the new man in soviet psychology wherein it is stated that *"personality is determined by inheritance, environment, training and self-training"*. To my mind this is an impressive definition capable of provoking a policy change in India in the anthropological sense and should therefore engage the attention of the Government particularly in matters of tribal welfare. For the key to the understanding of the problem of Indian culture is that caste is not immutable and hence it is not necessary to advance any Brahmanical cultural goal through institutionalized means in India merely out of a feeling of helplessness and for want of an alternative.

The choice of South India as the field of operation for social control has been made by me explicitly on the understanding that it is in that part of India particularly that we see the free play of the Brahmin's personality. South India admittedly offers fascinating possibilities of anthropological research. To take but one example, the genesis and growth of the anti-Brahmin movements such as Dravid Kazhagam and Dravid Munnetra Kazhagam require a reappraisal in terms of cultural anthropology and social psychology from the angle of social control.* And yet there has not been a single attempt made so far in reinterpreting them in these terms while there has in effect been a spate of speeches and articles in a political and vaguely cultural vein. I was, therefore, happy to read in an article by V. P. Raman in *Quest* magazine that the genesis of the movement and at any rate unmistakably in its later violent manifestations there is an element of serious cultural frustration implicit in them. Besides he underlines that the chauvinist revivalism of mythological Hinduism advocated by certain politicians had a direct effect on aggravating this frustration and pave the way for 'direct action' or senseless political aggression. However the analysis dries up there. (See '*Politics in Madras*' by V. P. Raman in *Quest*, Vol. III. No. 3 Dec. '57-Jan. '58).

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* The analysis of the non-Brahmin's prejudice against the Brahmin in South India, particularly in Tamilnad reveals interesting parallels with the anti-semetic prejudices in Western Europe and the U.S.A. Basing his studies on this phenomenon in New York, Gardiner Murphy draws certain conclusions which could be applied to the attitude of the non-Brahmin middleclass in Madras towards the Brahmin. The similarity, however, is striking.

(a) "The group against which prejudice is directed, in this case

In a true cultural sense the anti-Brahminical movements of South India constitute the first serious challenge to the Brahminical mode of life. To my mind the Brahmin cultural conqueror in South India never socialized himself adequately but instead had sedulously sought to socialize the tribal communities by playing on their mimetic faculty. This meant that the non-brahmincal masses had to surrender a good deal of what had remained of their conscious modes of religious worship and behaviour patterns in order to mechanically react to the Brahmanical mode of life. To my mind the Brahmin never succeeded in supplying a true spiritual content to the Brahminism of South India even though he had fully succeeded in preparing an organisation as such. Thus

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the Jews, are conceived to be obstacles towards the achievement of goals desired by the individuals. Members of the middleclass who have made their way in economic competition despite great difficulty and who think of themselves as having a certain position to defend may be hostile to minority groups and lower economic groups of all sorts who are rising in the social scale as likely to dispossess them from a precarious position.

(b) In the second place there is a strong tendency under conditions of guilt (and the sense of inferiority attendant upon the whole middle-class pressure for success, stability, propriety, acceptability) to project upon others their own feeling of inadequacy, guilt and hostility, uncleanness and all that represents the syndrome in themselves against which they unconsciously struggle."

See *In the Minds of Men* p. 227.

while the Brahmin succeeded in stylizing the non-Brahmin's ways of life and mode of speech to some extent he could not obviously succeed in reintegrating the personality of the tribal communities after its disorganisation through the deliberate design of social control. The cultural training that he supplied to the non-Brahmin did not have a wide coverage or did not at any rate outlast a few centuries. The reader will see that I have tried to bring out this aspect of the impasse so artificially created by the Brahmin in my sketch of local Hinduism and Regional Hinduism. I have also separately underlined the importance of the sanskritisation of Dravidian languages that had further tended to disorganize the personality make-up of the non-Brahmin. To my mind the havoc created by sanskritisation of South Indian languages was in the direction of conditioning the personality traits of the non-brahmin speaker in the wrong way by enforcing on him the wrong set of sterile religious symbols that aroused conflicts in emotional responses and seeking a cultural standardization on orthodox Brahminical lines and above all by enforcing a cultural control that progressively deprived him of his own pristine cultural identity. It is to be clearly understood for example that by substituting the word *'Ravana'* for *'Rama'* and by glorifying *'Ravana'*, Ramaswami Naicker was after all only seeking to supply a spurious cultural compensation for his followers who subconsciously smart under deprivation on many grounds, particularly of the economic privileges whose attainment require higher education perseverence and intelligence that the Brahmins usually possessed and had deliberately fostered these qualities through their esotericism over the long period of their social ascendancy. The infuriated Kazhakamite of today thus presents to my mind a sad picture of cultural frustration even though he does not appear to realize this truth himself in any real measure. To give a modern parallel, what the Brahmin attempted in the South Indian peninsula was something like the 'white man's burden' in the colonies which resulted in the deformation of souls. The Brahmin had taken the short cut of employing mimesis mainly for exaggerating the religious impulses of the non-Brahmin masses and had not bothered about the development of the whole personality. Hence on the analogy of what Toynbee says of the tropical African converted into the efficient engine driver in Belgian-congo the non-brahmin Indian of South India only succeeded in becoming the ardent worshipper in the magnificent temples of South India where the surplus produce of the country had flowed in for the benefit of the Brahmin priests and the chieftains who acted as their protectors and hosts. This takes us to the theoretical formulation of Toynbee directly and his words deserve great attention in the South Indian context.

> "The social havoc that is wrought on the one hand by esotericism on the part of the creative minority and on the other hand by a spiritual deformation of the souls of the rank and file of the uncreative mass is so manifestly serious that where and when it shows itself, there is apt to be a powerful counter movement to check it by adjustment or failing that by revolution. And the more vigorous and vital the growth of a growing civilization the greater as a rule, will be its member's sensitiveness to this particular social danger." *

Status and Role

The bankruptcy of Indian sociological studies is due to the lack of effective use of concepts such as 'status' and 'role' in relation to the social system. This is not surprising since their use or adaptation brings the sociologist himself into direct conflict with his own private or public status and role activities in society. Sociologists in India have their 'privatized perspectives' even in scholarly pursuits which they subordinate to a caste situation. It is thus that I could not withhold my admiration when as a layman I find a certain number of them gradually coming forward with a changed outlook and attempting a new evaluation free from subjectivity. Both these concepts owe their origin to Ralph Linton (See *The Study Of Man*, New York, 1938).

> "By *status* Linton meant a position in a social system occupied by designated individuals; by *role* the behavioural enacting of

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* See *A Study of History*, Vol. IV *Social Drill*, pp. 238-39. These words strike me as portentous in the Indian social situation today.

> the patterned expectations attributed to that position. Status and role in these terms are concepts serving to connect the culturally defined expectations with the patterned behaviour and relationships which comprise social structure." *

The reader will see that I have tried to use both these concepts in this study as very convenient tools of analysis in the manner in which Prof. Merton himself envisages above.

Spread

This concept owes its present vogue to Prof. M. N. Srinivas. He has elaborated on its definition and variations as *vertical and horizontal spread* in his interesting study *'Religion and society among the Coorgs of South India. Oxford University Press, London,* 1952. I have however reasons to believe that Srinivas has actually systematised this concept rather than worked it out himself since the notion of the cultural spread of Brahminical Hinduism is explicit in the writings of many English writers on India particularly on subjects of ethnology and caste system. As a tool of analysis it strikes me as a brilliant concept capable of being put to effective use in dissecting the amorphous phenomena of Hinduism. It is particularly illuminating when Srinivas goes to the extent of clarifying it further as he has done in his private letter to me in the following terms: "Every region of India contains All-India, Peninsular, Regional and local elements. The differences are in the proportions of each element in the total whole and are in the variations between caste and caste in the same area. Perhaps as you say, there is more local Hinduism in Malabar than in Tamilnad. This is a matter to be proved or disproved."

Sanskritisation

The twin concepts of 'Sanskritisation' and 'Westernisation' originally given in his study of Coorgs were elaborated by Prof. Srinivas in his paper included in *"Society in India"*, *Madras* 1956, edited by Dr. A. Aiyappan and L. K. Balaratnam. The use of the term has been explicitly defined by him in these terms: "The caste system is far from a rigid system in which the position of each component caste is fixed for all time. Movement has always been possible and especially so in the middle regions of the hierarchy. A low caste was able, in a generation or two to rise to a higher position in the hierarchy by adopting vegetarianism and teetotalism and by sanskritising its ritual and pantheon. In short, it took over, as far as possible, the customs, rites, and belief of the brahmins and adoption of the Brahmanic way of life by a low caste seems to be frequent, though theoretically forbidden. This process has been called *Sanskritisation*". While acknowledging this definition for the limited purpose I have at the same time used it in a purely linguistic sense and have in mind the conventional understanding of it as the process in which dravidian languages have been sanskritised by the infusion of sanskrit words. I would rather qualify this further by what I have stated under the head of social control through languages with the following additional remarks:

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* See Robert Merton, *Social Theory and Social Structure,* Free Press, Glencoe, Illinois 1957. See also 'A note on status' by Prof. J. H. Marshall in *Professor Ghurye Felicitation Volume,* edited by K. M. Kapadia, Popular Book Depot, Bombay. 1954, pp. 11-20.

To my mind the term in the sense used by Prof. Srinivas reinforces the concept of mimesis of Prof. Toynbee who has in fact covered it also in his great work on history. It is the mimetic urge of the undeveloped mind that made the Brahmin the *beau ideal* of medieval Indian society. The cultural traits of the Brahmin have been greatly copied by various castes in South India and the Brahmin conferred status on the non-Brahmin only in proportion as the latter had absorbed his own cultural traits and thus won his esteem. My own study of the Nayars and Nambudiri Brahmins confirms this view. The significance of the concept of *sanskritisation* in relation to the theory of social control is in a causative sense but it is something deeper than mere acculturation. Sanskritisation is no doubt a dynamic concept.*

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* Since writing this Dr. Srinivas has drawn my attention to his detailed note on *Sanskritisation* and *Westernisation* that appeared in the *Far Eastern Quarterly*, U.S.A. Vol. XV No. 4 August 1956. I, however, feel that there is the necessity to reformulate his concept in the

Ethnocentrism

The term ethnocentrism has been used in my study in conjunction with *ethnoexpansionism*. To my mind these are two fasciating concepts indispensable for any theoretical study on social control. The following definitions by George P. Murdock will be found useful.

"Ethnocentrism was first developed as a definite sociological concept by W. G. Sumner who defines the term as that "view of things in which ones own group is the centre of everything and all others are scaled and rated with reference to it". (See *Folkways* pp. 12-15). Emotionally it finds expression in a sympathetic awareness and approval of one's own fellows and their ways (*the syngerism* of Gumplowicz, the '*we-feeling*' of cooley and the '*consciousness of the kind*' of Giddings) and per contra in a feeling of fear, suspicion and contempt towards outsiders and their ways".

* * *

"Ethnocentrism receives strong support in the marked tendency of people to think in terms of groups rather than as individuals. It is far easier to label an individual with a class designation, such as Jew, capitalist, or atheist and then to pigeonhole him once and for all than it is to arrive at a reasoned estimate of a complex personality, an estimate moreover which is necessarily tentative and subject to change with increasing acquaintance".*

Ethnoexpansionism is a coinage by professor Lapiere of Stanford University and is used by him in his work 'A Theory of Social Control', McGraw-Hill Co. New York, 1954. This concept by itself is a substitute for the term "*Sanskritisation*" in a causative and cultural sense. As we have seen Lapiere defines ethnoexpansionism as "any idealistically motivated

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light of further research. My feeling is that the purposive drives of social control by Brahmins cannot be tenably covered up and brought under a single concept such as 'Sanskritisation'.

*See *Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences*, Vol. V & VI under Ethnocentrism.

endeavour to conquer culturally the members of other groups and societies". The adaptation of the use of the term to denote the Brahmin's cultural conquest strikes me as particularly appropriate. In fact I feel that it is a better concept than "sanskritisation" as used by Srinivas. Ethnoexpansionism is literally implicit in the very word 'Brahmin'. In that sense 'ethnoexpansionism' is generated by the Brahmin while "Sanskritisation" as used by Prof. Srinivas is in a more mimetic sense of non-brahmin castes wanting to imitate Brahminical ways and in that process attain superficial Brahminhood. No doubt Srinivas has succeeded in objectifying a subtle cultural process through this concept and thus succeeded in removing the sharp focus from the Brahmin himself. After all, the use of the word *'Brahminisation'* in place of *sanskritisation* would not be apt since it is not merely the Brahmin who is the agent of sanskritisation but also the non-Brahmins who are *brahmanically inclined.* The example of Nayars of Kerala could be cited in this context.

Primary and Secondary Groups

This suggestive and brilliant distinction was drawn by Charles H. Cooley in his work *'Human nature and the social order'*. As Prof. Timasheff N. S. states "Cooley's analysis of the primary group is a major landmark in the growth of social science. Primary groups are characterised by intimate face to face association, direct co-operation and conflict, a relatively free play of personality and of sentiment. The family, play group, and intimate neighbourhood were of greatest interest to Cooley but he recognised the ubiquity of primary (or as it is often put today, *informal*) groups in all social organizations. These intimate collectivities are *primary* he brought out, because they are the nursery of human nature, providing the individual with his earliest and most complete experience of social unity and because this group experience gives rise to universally found social ideals such as faith, the spirit of service, kindness, obedience to social norms and also the ideal of freedom. Only through primary groups can these ideals develop, and as they spread through the greater society they become the marks of progress and democracy."*

I was particularly drawn towards this typology of social groups as I felt that it could be made to embrace caste groups in India as well. The primary stage is mostly in the village or small town while the secondary stage of group life is in the urban milieu. Again the primary group life can be characterised as the intimate life as followed by the caste within its own group, wherever it be, and the secondary group can be equally characterised as the out group within whose matrix the primary group life has to find a niche. I have observed this particularly among Brahmins in small towns and also in larger cities such as Madras in particular localities for example Mylapore or Mambalam. In general terms ethnocentrism is the special feature of caste-group in the primary group stage whereas it continues to be associated with intense ethnoexpansionism in the secondary group stage. For any study of the Brahmin's personality one has necessarily to use these two concepts with their suggestive distinction possible in the context of Indian social system.

Gemeinschaft and Gesselschaft

These represent the basic concepts introduced in early analytical sociology by Ferdinand Toennies (1855-1936) the German sociologist. "A social group may be willed into being because sympathy among the members makes them feel that this relationship is a value in itself. On the other hand, a social group may arise as an instrument to attain some definite end. The first type of group, the expression of essential will Toennies called *Gemeinschaft*, the arbitrary willed group *Gesselschaft*". The dichotomy is most obvious under Indian conditions. Caste rigidity is essentially a feature of the Gemeinschaft or familism of village society in India. The Gesselschaft represent the urbanised townships and cities in India where caste distinction obviously loose their rigidity. The lack of adjustment that various castes have made between the two have given rise to the phenomena of caste conflicts in India in countless manifestations. Here again the concepts have to be necessarily overlapping in their meaning and coverage, for example, ethnocentrism that was found typical of primary groups is also true of the Gemeinschaft type of society in India. And similarly in regard to ethno-expansionism of secondary group and gesselschaft type of society. It was perhaps this circumstance that led to the general assumption that caste was likely to loose its strength according as Indian rural society progressively evolved and emerged as urban society through rapid industrialisation. It is needless to state here that this hope has been dashed to pieces everywhere in India on the basis of the findings of factual surveys so that one has to look deeper and seek the causes in the personality make-up of the caste-member and quite apart from its superficial conditioning in primary or secondary groups. It is perhaps more true to say that for a conscious caste-member it now makes little difference whether he is in a village or city as his personality factors have been conditioned in a different way than was usually supposed so far. This is the reason why there is consistence in his social action. Hence I have myself sought to link up the social-control factor as a dimension in the Brahmin's personality and attempted a sketch of its progress in Indian culture within the frame of reference supplied by Professor Srinivas's four fold division of Hinduism. But my concern with types of Gemeinschaft and Gesselschaft is in their implicit conception of will in organisation. It was this that led me to draw the conclusion that Brahminical social control was based on conscious motivation and not based solely on situational factors.

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* See *Sociological Theory, Its Nature and Growth*, Double day and Company INC., New York, 1955, pp. 114-145.

Routinization of the Charisma Through Bureaucracy

Throughout my study I have assumed on the basis of Max Weber's teachings that Charisma is a typical phenomenon of the Brahmin's ascendancy in India. In its pure form the charismatic authority of the Brahmin has been religious but with the giving up of the profession of priesthood and the necessities imposed by their multiplication in numbers particularly in regions where they were immigrant inbreeding groups, the Brahmins had to take up liberal professions chiefly administration and civil services. It is thus that I have singled out the South Indian Brahmins for my study particularly in relation to their ascendancy in the bureaucratic machinery of India today. To my mind this phenomenon is most obvious to the research student (it is manifest in black and white to any one who peruses the All India Civil list) for the reason that the time-gap in the transformation of a religious charismatic authority into that of a routinized pattern has been shorter in the case of the Brahmins of the South than their counterparts in the North. I also believe that it is due to the additional circumstance that is undeniable of the fewness in numbers of the original immigrants so that they had necessarily to wait until their numbers had multiplied sufficiently in order to command respect and also in order to make themselves felt in urban life. It is thus that the South Indian Brahmin began riding the crest of a wave of success since independence when his charismatic authority came to be recognised concretely in Northern India and therefore paved the way for its routinization through bureaucracy at the centre even as it kept its pace of rapid growth in provincial Governments as well as in the princely States in South India. Alongside these trends was the strengthening of the anti-Brahmin movements in the South that led to insecurity in services so that the opportunity presented itself for a *drang nach Nord* and the capturing of lucrative posts in bureaucracy at the centre. But the difference in outlook and attitude between the Northern and Southern cultural types of Brahmin even though they were undoubtedly of one and the same original stock, lies in the time-lag that separated the South Indian type from his confrere in the North in routinizing his charisma. However, there is no real difference between the two as such since what was the inherited charisma before transmitted by ritual means from one bearer to another has under modern conditions become "an objective, transferable entity" through the induction of co-castemen in bureaucracy and other walks of life through a process of sheer routinization.

The words written by Max Weber regarding the charismatic character of the caste system in India assumė prophetic quality today. He wrote "in its pure form charismatic authority has a character specifically foreign to every day routine structures. The social relationships directly involved are personal, based on the validity and practice of charismatic personal qualities. If this is not to remain a purely transitory phenomenon but to take on the character of a permanent relationship forming a stable community of disciples or a band of followers or a party organization or any sort of political or hierocratic organization it is necessary for the character of the charismatic authority to become radically changed. . . . Hence the routinization of the charisma also takes the form of the appropriation of powers of control and of economic advantages by the followers or disciples, of regulation of the recruitment of these groups. This process of traditionalization or of legalization according to whether rational legislation is involved or not may take any one of a number of typical forms. . . . *One of the decisive motives underlying all cases of routinization of charisma is naturally the striving for security. This means that the legitimization on the one hand of positions of authority and social prestige and on the other hand, of the economic advantages enjoyed by the followers and sympathizers of the leader*".

I think this is best studied in India in relation to the charismatic authority of Gurus and Swamis of Muts and Ashrams. There is ample evidence to prove the assumptions of Max Weber. "Another important motive, however, lies in the objective necessity of adaptation of the patterns of order and of the organisation of the administrative staff to the normal every day needs and conditions of carrying on the administration."*

Typology of Adaptation by the Brahmin in Bureaucracy

The process of routinization gives rise to certain psychological attitudes that vary with the situations. I have already given my views on this in the relevant chapter as a footnote based on the analogy of the findings of Prof. Robert Merton. Merton's analysis is invariably brilliant and it does not take an effort to understand his crystal clear language and analysis. However, beyond their derivative value for the purpose of analysis in the Indian context, Merton's paradigms have no bearing on Indian conditions, properly so called. For the bureaucratic set-up in India is so much unlike its counterparts in other countries in the sense that it reflects the ethnological heterogeneity not only in the physical sense but also in the psychological attributes and cultural bearing. I have had occasion to underline the existence of parallels in bureaucracy to the caste-gradations and the unconscious emphasis placed on every official measure by considerations underlying the social systems of India. The routinization of charismatic authority that has taken place in India in bureaucracy mostly under alien rulers has been of a restrained type for the obvious reason that a formal organization which was at once the heart and centre of a foreign domination could not be subverted for ethnoexpansionism of the caste-variety with facility. That this was rendered possible only after the attainment of independence is all too obvious for restatement here. Hence, the real typology of adaptation and process of ascendancy is best studied during the period after independence. And for this purpose I have drawn up a series of hypothetical behaviour patterns of small-caste groups in bureaucracy that may serve the purpose of the research student. I assume that conditions are stable with the prevalence in the formal organisation of established rules, codes of conduct, and stable mutual expectations. The most important thing to note in this context is that the personality factors underlying the technique of social control get submerged in the tactical operations of the small-group/caste so that under normal conditions in bureaucracy the extension of social control will only give the appearance of the adjustment of relations by the small-group/caste with all other groups in a selected milieu. This is the situation in which subtle methods operate, where guile comes into full play and thus the ascendancy is assured to the small-caste-group through their sheer superiority in these attributes and also due to their consummate foreknowledge and capacity to calculate the behaviour of other caste-groups including its official and non-official leaders. It is nothing short of artistry, a sort of intellectual jugglery that is manifested in the process, nay verily the qualities of supermen!

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* See Max Weber: *The theory of Social and Economic Organization*: pp. 373-374. Quoted by Robert Merton in *Reader in Bureaucracy*.

Adjustment by the small caste-group of its relations with other caste-community groups in bureaucracy

1) Opportunities for advancement in the bureaucracy being theoretically equal the small social group will establish the best relations with members of that caste-community that it considers as being capable of challenging its members in ability, education or social importance/ascendancy.
2) Among multi-caste/community elements in bureaucracy within a limited field of operation the small group will operate in such a way as to outdistance its immediate rivals through alliances with diverse groups provided the group is not socially or politically important. Alternately the small social group will act only according to situational pressures or advantages until its own caste or community becomes most prominent in society as well as in bureaucracy.
3) When the small group/caste members become dominant in a Ministry/Department/Office they will seek to insulate their role activities in various ways vis-a-vis other Ministries/Departments/Offices.
4) One of the main methods used for the insulation of role—activities is through its transference to one or more clever member of another friendly group/caste. Powers of recruitment, transfers, financial responsibility for ventures in which the small-group/caste members benefit are likely to be transferred to one or two members of the friendly group/caste who would be amenable to play the role of a 'stooge' to the dominant small-group/caste. It will be the function of these 'stooges' to pull the chestnut out

of the fire for the small social group/caste.

5) For faithful services rendered the small group will reward the officer with positions of power and prestige and will normally admit him to the confidence of the group's activities particularly those which the small group wants to pass off as of national interest. He will not however be trusted with the group's/caste's permanent plans of action.
6) If the trusted members of the friendly group/caste err on the side of favouring members of their own group/caste out of proportion to the normal expectations of the small-group/caste and its connivance, the members of the friendly group are apt to forfeit their whole or part of the privileges and the trust conferred by the small-group/caste. The transference of the trust to another group is likely to take place or in its absence the group itself will take over the functions.
7) The survival of the diverse groups/castes in a milieu dominated by the small groups/castes in a permanent fashion and with popular sanction is dependent on their aping the members of the small-group/caste in language and life-style on grounds of culture.
8) When members of the friendly group/caste shine by contrast (in their work/performance of official duties) with the members of the dominant small group/caste, the latter will seek to bring in members of groups/castes opposed to the friendly group/caste and if possible belonging to a different religion altogether.
9) This triangular situation is generally construed in favour of the members of the dominant small group/caste and advertised as the rationale for the group's/caste's dominance in situations where vital interests of larger group/community are at stake. In such cases the small-group will arrogate to itself the role of the champions of general welfare/culture/interests.
10) The admission of members of other religions/sects (Christianity, Islam) will be made out as the example

of the small-group's/caste's liberal and secular outlook.

11) If a situation does arise to compel the small-group to admit larger numbers of elements unsympathetic to or unappreciative of their cultural pretensions (e.g. Scheduled castes/tribes converted to Buddhism) the members of the small group are apt to react violently and seek to oppose their entry through official channels even at the risk of inviting general criticism.

12) In such an event the small group is apt to make frantic efforts to strengthen its position through a series of measures e.g. (1) by concluding hasty alliances with other groups/castes by offering greater privileges/opportunities (2) by seeking to increase the strength of its own members through relaxations in recruitment and open practice of nepotism and through the larger recruitment of women of its own group/caste.

13) The small caste-group is invariably discriminating in its choice of the positions of authority. It aims at power and captures power in the official set-up through control of administration, accounts, audit, recruitment etc. This is true of their ethnoexpansionism in both small official bodies as well as larger ones.

14) The small-caste group will not only take advantage of the direct benefits of official authority but will also seek to confer on its members situational advantages derived from circumstances tangential to their position of authority or the unanticipated consequences of their authority. (This probably explains the use of phrases such as "wait for your turn" "you are not perhaps destined to get it" "That is perhaps your karma" etc. addressed to the members of rival groups. This is tantamount on the personal plane to saying "Let me help myself out of turn first while you should take your turn later". An ancillary consideration is the presence in each Government office of an astrologer—amateur or even seasoned—who performs a distinct unofficial role of prognostication and

keeps the spirits high. This requires further study.)

15) The combined activity of small groups/castes in a concerted fashion creates an acute anomic strain in bureaucracy. A sense of futility is likely to spread among Govt. servants who in the large majority are psychologically incapable of analysing their plight in such a situation.

16) The small-caste group will then seek to aggravate the sense of helplessness by resorting to a series of methods e.g. (a) vaunting its own contribution to general welfare (b) lionizing the virtues of a leader (c) by harping on destiny and *'kismet'*, (d) by extending its own sphere of authority and encroaching on fresh pastures (e) by creating rules for their own convenience and aggrandizement. They aim to complete the demoralisation further and pave the way for their rapid vertical mobility.

17) The extension of the sphere of authority will inevitably take the small-caste groups to seek props from political parties and the parliament obviously as a safeguard to its own position.

18) The extension of influence will take place through the cornering of key posts not only in administration and mass communication media but also in commercial firms and private institutions. The tentacles of expansion will interlock one another in a deadly embrace so that society at large could be smothered without so much as allowing it to utter a muffled cry of anguish.

19) To the critical world opinion the ascendent small-group/caste will varnish the bureaucracy as an ethocracy and speak in the tones of flamboyant self-righteousness and its central role in Indian culture.

20) Where the utterances/publications are palpably mendacious it will hire the persons to advertise them on their behalf. In the long run this is bound to reflect itself in both the domestic as well as the foreign policy.

These are a few of the hypothetical behaviour patterns of the small group/caste that offer scope for further research. Each set offered above has its own variations according to the situations and its "structural variability". These are not confined to any particular level in organization or limited to any one particular caste such as the Brahmins. The essential thing to note is that the personality of the bureaucratic virtuoso as well as that of the members of his group/caste becomes very much the base of an intimate involvement between himself/itself and social structure. The central theme of this monograph deals with the mediation of the Brahmin's personality in the institutionalized social relationships of the complex network of Indian society. I have contended that the integrated totality of Indian social life, particularly the Hindu social system, is in a large measure due to the efforts of the Brahmin based on his conscious motivation. In other words, this is an attempt to understand Indian social phenomena not only in terms of the Brahmin's individual or group-personality but as the main motive-force for social action. Max Weber followed by Talcott parsons have taught that "*a system of social action is only possible when the individual actors are consciously* 'oriented' *towards one another. These orientations tend to assume consistent patterns and the resulting* 'complementarity of expectations' *is that holds the social structure together*". This is particularly seen in the caste-groupings within bureaucracy. With the advent in power of every official head of office/Department/Ministry belonging to one caste there is created an expectation system in the minds of his co-castemen. It is a fantastic phenomenon that has put the brakes on Indian societal evolution. The bane of casteism in India is to be traced to this root-cause of the malaise that pervert the value-systems and norms. This is what happened in Tamilnad when the caste categories were introduced by the Brahmins in a region that had known only classes under broad geographical divisions.

The process of social stratification that took place in South India however requires a far deeper analysis than what is possible by putting the blame on the social control dimension of the Brahmin's personality; social control theory is at best only a good analytical tool for the purpose. The use of a different approach may require a different frame of reference altogether. It is not my intention to go into these in greater detail. It may well form the subject of another study. But as the reader would have seen I subscribe to the apostolic motivation of the Brahmin in society. Prof. Sprott has clearly stated this problem of reconciling this with the other baser motives of social control in the following manner:

> "The difficulty in formulating any theory which attempts to cope with social control as a totality of values, spontaneously generated and everchanging lies in the fact that one can hardly help implying some mystical urge which keeps a society together and causes its patterned changes. There are sociologists—Durkheim is one—who do not shrink from such a hypothesis. The solution of the problem may come from an intensive study of face-to-face groups by social psychologists. It may be that when a group is formed for some co-operative activity carried on by individuals each of whom has the same end in view, may generate habits and dispositions the study of which will throw a light on generating of social values and ideals. Until this is done, however, we must at all costs avoid the notion of what are 'social controls' operate against the nature of persons who are submitted to them and if this means talking as though a society had a unifying force which springs from the *social side* of man's nature, then that is better than ignoring co-operation and creativeness in social relations." *

This is perhaps the greatest limitation of my present monograph. It is perhaps thus that one becomes ambivalent in one's attitude towards the Brahmanical influence on Indian social system. Through their beneficent social control the Brahmins supplied a unifying force to Hindu Society for several long centuries of Indian history. They have undoubtedly been a creative minority for a very long period. In the study of local Hinduism it was shown that they have been undoubtedly creative. And yet for long periods they remained quiescent doing nothing by way intellectual effort. Marxists and materialists may differ and put forward other arguments. The question, as framed by Prof. Sprott has been "Do ideals and rational reflections ever really determine our social action and policies or are these merely epiphenomenal formulations which spring entirely from the internal clash of material interests having no causal efficacy, whatever?" It is found that an increasing number of writers in India itself are swinging towards this line. In this respect I have found the *Introduction to the Study of Indian History,* (Popular Book Depot, 1957) by Dr. D. D. Kosambi as particularly stimulating.

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* See *Sociology* by W. H. Sprott, Hutchinson's University Library.

To my mind, the materialistic interpretation of social control is more significant for, the Brahmins as sheer human beings could not have been merely guided by apostolic motivation alone. Perhaps the Brahmin is more materialistically-minded today than even before. As Prof. Sprott aptly puts it "Ostensibly we do not act as though in the service of certain ideals though in the choice of the ideals we are doubtless more influenced by our material interests than we should be prepard to admit. The onus of proof that the conscious pursuit of values plays on independent part in determining social action rests with those who deny causal efficacy to mental action, not with those who assert it". (See *Sociology* p. 138-139). Curiously enough my study leads me to think that even the most materialistically-minded group of Brahmins are not without their apostolic motivation to advance certain ideals. One could easily recall many a prominent Brahmin in society to mind who publicly betray this ambivalence and in fact plead for it. Is this double standards an ethical dualism or an inherent mental difficulty reflected in social action? We are yet to know the answer.

Functional Analysis

In conclusion, I would like merely to touch upon the possible relation between functional theory and this monograph by merely isolating some of the material and fitting it into the conceptual requirements of this approach. The charisma of the Vedic Brahmin undoubtedly fulfilled a function as we have seen. But its routinized version has already become dysfunctional. And yet it is not wholly so in the field of social action in a number of matters. The Brahmin continues to supply substance to many institutionalized fields of activity in India. For the structural continuity of Hinduism the manifold roles of the Brahmin were a functional requisite. However in terms of a higher societal evolution such as towards the secular state his roles in their total essence is highly dysfunctional. Thus in limited fields the Brahmin's role may be functional while in larger fields it may prove dysfunctional and vice versa. Such formulations, however, strike me as particularly vague even for purposes of establishing the Brahmin's social identity for the reason that there is a deep fallacy implicit in them. This is that much of the cultural phenomena that we attribute to the Brahmin could also be interpreted as the unintended consequences of the Brahmin's action without any specific time sequence in regard to any matter. We may prove this in regard to caste system, religious rituals, sanskritisation of languages and even of modern instances taken from social or political life and specially in matters of the evolution of values and norms that are regarded today as Brahmanical and ipso facto Hinduistic. A detailed formulation of this approach with its variations of latent and manifest functions should await a later date. I have also not purposely touched on any aspect of the impact of Muslim invasions in India as well as that of Muslim culture; but feel that this should supply the material for a functional analysis of the historical roles of the Brahmin in Indian society.

CHAPTER VIII

THE STRUCTURE OF HINDU SOCIAL ACTION

FROM THE analytical standpoint the attempts made in the preceding pages have been to draw the attention of the reader to the extent to which the personality of the Brahmin is intimately involved in the social structure of modern India. I have made an effort to abstract out of the *Brahminical cultural system* the *personality system* of the Brahmin. It was thus that I had drawn the conclusion that the Hindu *social system* is dominated by the motivational orientation of the principal actor in it viz. the Brahmins. The reader would easily recognise that he is in a field of study popularised by the teachings of Prof. Talcott Parsons of Harvard University. The advantage in applying the method of approach enunciated by Parsons in the Indian situation is that we have a living *cultural system* in the form of Hindu society which offers scope for testing the three types of *motivational orientation* of the Brahmin. These are "(1) *cognitive* corresponding to that which the actor (Brahmin) perceives in a situation in relation to his system of need-dispositions (attitudes?) (2) *cathective* involving a process through which an actor (Brahmin) invests an object with affective and emotional significance; (3) *evaluative,* by means of which an actor (Brahmin) allocates his energy to various interests among which he must choose."* To my mind the Hindu social system today comprises of three major classes of culture patterns based on this *motivational orientation.* These are "(1) systems of ideas or beliefs, characterised by the primacy of cognitive interests; (2) systems of expressive symbols such as art-forms characterised by the primacy of cathective interests (attachment or rejection of objects); and systems of value orientations or "integrative patterns". The basic difference between the analytical approach of Talcott Parsons and the present writer is that while Parsons is 'concerned primarily with the cultural systems in so far as they affect social systems and personality"* I am more concerned with the personality of the actor (Brahmin) to the extent that it affects Indian social system. It is essential to clarify the base of this distinction particularly in a theoretical note such as the present one.

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* See *Sociological Theory,* Nicholas. S. Timasheff, New York 1955.

From the personality angle and hence that of motivational and value orientation as outlined above it is important to see as to how far our analysis of Hindu social system within the framework of the fourfold divisions of Hinduism offered by M. N. Srinivas has comprehended them. In this respect my emphasis on the cultural personality of the South Indian Brahmin is purposive in the sense that the cultural system of South Indian society particularly shows in clear relief the motivational orientation in the social action of the Brahmin. I shall explain this viewpoint further. The immigrant Nambudri saw in the social situations of ancient Malabar a field for social action reflecting his true cultural personality. I have at length outlined this in the chapter on local Hinduism in Kerala. The permeation of a generalised form of Brahminical attitudes in the Kerala society in a cultural sense (not political sense in the context of the prevalence of communism and the existence in power of a Communist Government there until recently) is the result of the prodigious energies spent by the Nambudiri Brahmin in social action. Similarly this is true of the role activities of the *Andanar* and *Parpar* Brahmin in Tamilnad to the extent that the region embodied the elements of local Hinduism. In this sense *Talikettu system* and the *sambhandham unions* with Nayar women must be interpreted as the outcome of the *cognitive* motivation of the Nambudri to establish his status situation in ancient Kerala while the Sanskritisation of the Malayalam language, the encouragement given to folk dances and festivals with the sanskritic and ritualistic bias could be taken as the *cathectic* aspect of motivation involving attachment to certain aspects of the Dravidian culture and rejection of certain other aspects as a

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*See Talcott Parsons on "The prospects of Sociological theory in Essays' in *Sociological Theory*, Revised. 1954. p. 359.

matter of convenience and yet rigorously to satisfy the need-dispositions of the Nambudri Brahmin himself. The *evaluative* aspect of motivation also could be discerned strictly in terms of the preference shown by the Brahmin for the feudal society not only in Kerala but also in other parts of India so that he could create the base for a leisure class and allow his own personality the primacy in social action.

In a purely cultural sense just as local Hinduism came to be enveloped by the elements of Regional, peninsular and All-India Hinduism in a process of cultural expansion, there has also been in effect a progressive expansion in the personality of the Brahmin. It is in this sense that I have found it necessary to fall back upon the teachings of Max Weber and link up the pristine charismatic authority of the Brahmin with its routinized modern version in bureaucracy. Of this I have spoken enough in my note clarifying the various concepts that I have used as tools of analysis in this monograph. My present effort has been to probe deeper into the social behaviour of the Brahmins through a micro-analysis of my own conception within a formal organisation and above all to chalk out the structure of Brahminical social action. My chief concern here is again the personality of the Brahmin, particularly with its dimension of social control that I have attributed to him as a cultural conqueror of South India. In a broad sense the social action of the cultural conqueror is principally governed by this dimension, which was not foreseen by Talcott Parsons but has been rightly characterised as the "apostolic motivation" by Prof. Lapiere of Stanford University. The cultural system that resulted from this operation of apostolic "motivation" is different from its counterpart that might get organised by the triple motivational orientations anticipated by Talcot Parsons. In essence this is the difference between Indian and Western society on the metaphysical plane not to speak of the distinctions that are all too apparent in the general cultural patterns, *"the logical consistency of belief systems, the stylistic harmony of art-forms or the rational compatibility of a body of moral rules"*. It is thus not merely a problem of cultural anthropology but the vital question to be answered by social psychology. Hence the analysis of Parsons in spite of its incompleteness in the motivational-orientations, has the distinct quality of focussing the enormous importance of psychology as the handmaid to the study of Indian sociology in both the structural and functional (in the Parsonian version of functional analysis) sense.

The object of my present enquiry is limited to the finding out the reasons for the impasse facing Indian society with deep anomic strains even though the cultural conqueror viz. the Brahmin is still in the arena and is in a jubilant and self-congratulatory mood. It is not enough if we merely conclude on external evidence that the Brahmin's social role is over and that for sometime now his role—activities and social action have been dysfunctional. From the personality angle, there has been something more than a break-down or disintegration and if this is admitted it should be more intensely sought for not merely in the urban milieu but in the face to face groups or primary groups. In this sense there are two possibilities, one is to study the social behaviour of the Brahmin in the small groups in urban society itself and the other is to subject him to critical observation while he is in action in a formal group such as is feasible within bureaucracy. In the present study I have attempted only the latter based on *the participant-observer method* as suggested by Harold Laswell. I have already observed earlier that so far as the Brahmin was concerned the outer society had crumbled or was fast crumbling in the form in which he had essayed to build it idealistically and that he was no longer the principal actor. He has to face a plurality of actors now and Indian society in the micro-social sense is best "described as a plurality of individuals who are motivated by a tendency to optimum gratification and whose relation to this situation is defined in terms of varying system of culturally structured and shared patterns." He can no longer spend his energies in the direction of seeking his own gratification. Hence my conclusion that he should socialize himself forthwith and merge with the masses. For an individual Brahmin as well as his culturally patterned group or his caste this is not easy for his/theirs is a full-grown personality with almost an "architectural integration". By adding 'apostolic motivation' as a dimension in his personality we have complicated the problem further. The solution has thus to be found not only on the individual plane but in a cultural and anthropological plane since we have to tackle the problem of making him give up his habit strata conditioned by these factors.*

To my mind the prime requisite for changing the personality of the Brahmin as a process of counter-control to his own technique of social control lies in the direction of altering the basis of his educational opportunities and equalizing it in terms of other members of society. I am relying on this hypothesis on the basis of my study of the Brahmin's personality by various levels. As Clyde Kluckhon says "if we study a personality by levels we see how characteristic responses of one degree of complexity supercede or disguise any direct manifestation of reactions that are typical at a different degree of complexity. The same personality responds to different situations with differences which are sometimes dramatic".* For anyone used to the 'raw human nature' of the South Indian Brahmin it is plain to understand that the social control element dominates his personality and to this end he has been educating himself and his children in feverish haste. There is a great deal of error in judgment betrayed by the Brahmin parents and hence copied by the non-brahminical groups as well, in the sense that the personality is allowed to be conditioned in the wrong way in the early stages of life. For successive generations this has gone on taking place in South India with the result that there has been waves of intrinsically clever people who used society for their selfish ends.* But the unmistakable root-cause for this 'deviant behaviour' of the Brahmin is in his coverting his family as the conscious "transmission belt for diffusion of cultural standards". This situation arises in the circumstances of the frustrations of a batch of intelligent people in their attempts at social ascendancy through costly English education. The situation is best studied in the social situation of Tamilnad today. In terms of the deviant behaviour it is relevant to quote Robert Merton on the subject. "If compensatory projection of parental ambition on to children is widespread, then it is precisely those parents least able to provide free access to opportunity for their children—the '*failure*' and '*frustrates*' who exert great pressure upon their children for high achievement. And this syndrome of lofty aspirations and limited realistic opportunities, as we have seen, is precisely the pattern which invites deviant behaviour. This clearly points to the need for investigation focussed upon occupational goal—formation in the several social strata." * Indeed, can anyone deny that what is needed urgently in India is an investigation on occupational goal-formation based on educational opportunities. Is it any longer difficult to understand why so many persons from Madras sit for the I.A.S. and other competitive exams and indeed already form the bulk of the budding bureaucrats? But one may safely predict one thing and that is that even with greater educational opportunities and diversification of employment opportunities, the struggle for social control through bureaucracy is bound to continue as so many Brahmin parents and their prototypes in other communities in India keep the home fires burning for their children to attain their cultural ideal and obtain lucrative posts in bureaucracy. Of this we have said enough in this study earlier. Professor Srinivas has also drawn attention to this in another context and with particular reference to the conditions prevailing in the Tanjore district of South India.

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* The 'apostolic motivation' of the Indian Brahmin comes under the category of what Pitrim Sorokin of Harvard calls the *"super-empirical"* or *"transcendantal soul"*. Timasheff admirably sums up his views as follows: "Although he strongly stresses the influences of the socio-cultural environment in shaping personality. Sorokin, like most sociologists today avoids a one sided 'sociologistic' interpretation of human behaviour. He sees the individual and personality on the one hand and society and culture on the other, as interdependent and interacting elements of a totality. Nor does he assume a one to one correspondence between culture and personality. But Sorokin emphasises the *'pluralistic'* nature of the personality structure, viewing the pluralising 'selves' in the individual as a pluralism of groups and the multiple 'social ego' of the individual as a consequence of his various group membership. In his earlier *'Social mobility'* as well as his more recent works, Sorokin also brings out interconnections between socio-cultural patterns and changes and personality disorganization. Similarly he holds that each of the broad socio-cultural patterns—the sensate, ideational and idealistic—produces characteristic personality types. While Sorokin uses the expression *"empirical soul"* (which identifies with 'self or ego') he wisely points out that analysis of the superempirical or transcendental soul that lies outside the sociological discussion; its analysis belongs to religion and metaphysics".

See *Sociological Theory*, p. 236.

For Sorokin's own interpretation of personality development through Yoga see his article on 'Yoga and Man's transfiguration' in *Bhavan's Journal*, Bombay, Vol. V, No. 7, No. 2, 1958. Also see Prof. Sorokin's recent work *The Reconstruction of Humanity*, Indian edition, 1958.

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* See Mirror of Man, George Harrap and Co. p. 191.

* The parallel mistake committed by the Policy maker in regard to cultural matters is best stated as follows:—

"A common culture cannot be created by merely desiring it. It rests upon economic foundations. It is incompatible with the existence of too violent a contrast between the economic standards and educational opportunities of different classes" R. H. Tawney quoted by Harold D. Laswell and Abraham Kaplan in *Power and Society,* 1952.

> "One last point about urbanisation and it is true of South India with the probable exception of Kerala. Urbanization in South India has a caste component—the Brahmin caste led the others in deserting the ancestral villages for the towns. They were the first to sense the advantages of Western Education, and the sons of those who left the villages became the first teachers, officials, lawyers, doctors and judges. Their position in the social system was strategic—in the rural areas they constituted the religious and landed aristocracy and in urban areas they had a near monopoly of all higher posts. Most of these Brahmins retained their ancestral land if they did not add to it. Gradually, however, the expenses of higher education, dowry system, costly weddings and funerals, made it necessary for them to lose their *pied-a-terre*. The virtual monopoly which the Brahmins had of the important posts and the British policy of preference to the Non-Brahmin and Backward castes soon led to a popular anti-Brahmin movement. As a result, the Brahmin is now-a-days being kept out of government service. (*This is perhaps partially true of Madras State only*). Caste-wise allotment of seats in educational institution is common."

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* See *Social Theory and Social Structure*, 1957—pp. 158-59.

> "The unemployment of the thirties and the second world war resulted in phenomenal occupational and spatial mobility for the Brahmins. They entered business at all levels and the defence services in all capacities. The Westernization of the Brahmins proceeded fast. The educated non-Brahmin who borrowed Brahmanical ways found that the Brahmin was very busy discarding what the others were busy acquiring. Both the processes, the Sanskritization of the Non-Brahmin castes and the Westernization of the Brahmins is proceeding apace today".*

What is important to note in regard to urbanisation is the fact that a large number of a social and abnormal types of Brahmins who have left their abodes have gravitated upwards to positions of power and importance in Indian society. The power-crazy politician, the paranoid bureaucrat, the dishonest doctor or engineer and the hypocritical educationist have been the resulting phenomena.

We have seen above that the Hindu family far from becoming the spring board for rational social action has become the conflicting arena for the submergence of parental frustrations and their projection in the faulty education of Hindu children. This phenomena is not confined to the Brahmins or Hindus only but has become through a process of social interaction the generalised pattern of family life in India among all castes and communities. The dominant motive of family life having become the attainment of social ascendancy through the holding of positions in bureaucracy it was but natural that the base of authority behind social action itself should undergo a change towards the non-logical. For, behind every step taken under the craving for authoritarianism through the bureaucratic power-structure there has been a weakening of familial authority of the rational type and hence the weakening of social action. But in a continuous historical or teleological sense the efforts of the Brahmins to make Indian bureaucracy their stronghold is a highly logical action as it represents the logical culmination of their charismatic authority in its routinised version. In fact, it would have been idle to expect the 'Brahmin to remain inactive on this score soon after the attainment of Indian independence and the freeing of the country from the political authority of the foreigner that had so far inhibited such a development. What then are the intrinsic consequences of this situation in terms of the structure of Hindu social action? To my mind these are the rapid disintegration of social values and the creation of *the anomic strains** in society. There can be no purposive social action without a stable set of values on the familial and social plane. To the extent that the contra-cultural types of Brahmins increased in numbers the old Hindu society and its bonds began to fall to pieces for, after all, it was but a reflex of the Brahmin's personality. With more and more Brahmins giving up their traditional ways of life and faith in ancient values the social action generated by them in urban society has lost its real significance. Paradoxically enough, the Brahmanical revival in India is initiated by the Western educated, contra-cultural type of the Brahmin who has absolved himself of all responsibility to stick to the Brahmanical mode of life or values.† And yet it is easy to understand this phenomenon in the light of the social control techniques operated by them on a continental scale in India. For, after all, this is the outcome of an impenitent *rationalization* that theirs is the key-role to play in Indian society today. When this is so on a macroscopic range it should be expected that a similar paradox is observable in the microscopic range as well. The authority of the Brahmin bureaucrat is not quite the same as it was before the attainment of independence. It is today the reflex of a disintegrated personality that frantically seeks to push ahead with its social control dimension in an overt and anonymous fashion. Witness for example the fall in the moral prestige of Brahmin Ministers, top officials and educationists. It has been the rapid slide down the hill and before long one has to go round like the Greek philosopher with a lamp in broad day light and ask for a true cultural type of a Brahmin!

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* See 'Industrialization and Urbanization of Rural Areas' in *Sociological Bulletin,* Bombay. Vol. V, September, 1956, No. 2. (Italics mine).

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* This by itself should justify a separate study under present conditions.

† Dr Radhakamal Mukherjee in *Social Structure of Values* (p. 251) forcefully presents this point when he writes as follows:—

"Social systems that have placed at the top of the prestige scale an elite comprising the wise and holy can only succeed through the enforcement of a self-denying or ascetic ideal for the group and customary accession of new individuals through the acquisition of the same personal worth and capacity. Throughout history the priestly class, however, has mixed up the economic with the intellectual and religious goals and sought to enjoy the monopoly of their superior spiritual wisdom even the reading and possession of sacred texts that is supported by ecclesiastical power, social deference and material possession. Thus the sacred values of knowledge, character and religion have been profaned by being transformed into the instrumental values for a privileged class that like any other group has sought to protect its tangible interests even at the expense of the other groups. This perversion of values undermines their structural prestige and finally leads to the loss of their structural status and power. Changes in social gradation in all societies reflect changes in the invisible world of values."

The ineffectiveness of Hindu social action in any sphere has thus been brought about by the Brahmin himself by consciously allowing himself to degenerate. An index of this particularly is seen in the manner in which degenerate and unworthy types have been absorbed in their ranks in the swift process of horizontal and/or vertical mobility of which we had spoken earlier. To my mind the degeneration is quicker more for this reason than any other, particularly in bureaucracy. Revivalism, particularly of the chauvinist type does not realise this truth and is apt to confound the issues. The moral authority of the Brahmin in Hindu society is thus irretrievably lost and there is therefore no going back even with the immense power behind the Government and the full command over the modern communication media of press, films and the radio. It is also futile to attempt an emotional integration. Let us be frank about it and face the facts. With the caste-system showing signs of breaking up at least under certain conditions, with the growth in size of the parallel society of untouchables and scheduled castes and scheduled tribes, with their acceptance of Buddhism as a chosen religion, with his cosmology questioned by the advance of science, with his astrology and sacerdotality poo-poohed what remains for the Brahmin today are the crutches of bureaucracy to limp along and to assume as a matter of self-deception that nothing serious has taken place around to dethrone him from his self-constituted status-situation. The desperate remedies that the Brahmin adopts to recapture his lost status-situation take varied shapes and forms; "Could we simply fancy that nothing happened to us?" they ask sub-consciously or "could we go all out for foreign aid and forget our worries?" "Or shall we take the offchance of joining the opposition party and swelling the ranks so that eventually it will make no difference in any possible political transformation of the future?" Desperate questions and desperate remedies indeed! What could be the true answer to this situation? My answer is that the Brahmin like the new Indian should assign only one subjective meaning to his social action and that is the welfare of mankind, the true absolutist concept of all goodness in this world. May the Rishis inspire us again in the right way and let us vow not to distort their teachings for our material ends. There lies the Brahmin's true social identity and the fulfilment *of his social destiny.*

The Hindu revivalists of today are actually moving against the times. The evolution of economic and social life in India tends towards conferring a greater dignity on the human individual and in this process the heritage of Indian culture gets subsumed into a new pattern of synthetic science and analytic theology. In this process again the Indian Brahmin has to play a great role; this is not through preserving his identity as a caste member but as a new Indian in search of absolutist wisdom. The problem facing him is best stated by Dr. P. Natarajan (Nataraja Guru) in the following illuminating words:

> "Science has succeeded in making a lump of earth sufficiently mysterious or spiritual. Theology has likewise now the task of taking up the challenge from the other pole of reality to discard its contempt of something that is "of earth, earthly." The world will be ready for great discoveries when the *a priori* religious tendency of reasoning is able to meet the *a posteriori* of science. The empirico-logical preserve of science could then have no closed frontier as against the cosmology and psychology revealed to intuitive imagination through myth, parable, or fable.

> If we were to make a complete inventory of the problems, methods and uses of the vast field of wisdom now covered departmentally by science, philosophy and religion, and arrange them in columns accordingly it would be seen that between the compartmentalized branches that convention keeps apart and watertight at present, there is much duplication, overlapping and common purpose. Pure and practical reason, analysis and synthesis, induction and deduction, the *a priori* and the *a posteriori* movements, meet and mix in the conquest of ignorance which is the overall purpose or both science and philosophy. Religion, shorn of too sentimental myth and its horizontal hidebound aspects can be looked upon as serving the same purpose. In this sense, when free of its contempt for matter and its excessive love of the hypostatic at the expense of the hierophantic, the teleological at the expense of the ontological, religion could still serve the cause of wisdom as nobly as its two other sisters born out of the love of truth." *

This is true of Brahmanism in India today.

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* See his essay on 'The unitive approach to religion and theology.' *Values*, Vol. IV, No. 4 January 1959, Kaggalipura, Mysore.

CHAPTER IX

THE CULTURAL CONTENT IN INDIAN BUREAUCRACY

INDIAN BUREAUCRACY in its structural characteristics bears an unmistakable impress of Indian culture. And Indian culture in the parlance of sociologists is a complex culture not only in its concomitant diversities of races and languages but essentially in the complex socio-religious systems and value patterns that it embodies within itself. To consider Indian culture as a compact culture constitutes therefore a denial of the proven sociological and anthropological facts and can only pass on for chauvinism of a familiar kind. In Indian culture today, there are the innumerable streams of influences that stemmed from a flourishing folk culture of peasant communities and tribal people, the sub-cultures of castes and classes and the urban culture of an English educated middle class. These strains overlap over groups and communities, castes and classes and their specific cultural traits and constitute the amalgam of Indian culture that it is at present. Indian culture does not become Hindu culture in the context of the partition of India on the basis of Hindu-Muslim rivalries. Nor does it lend itself to strident claims as being a specifically secular culture unique in its characteristics by reason of the existence of a Christian or Muslim or Parsi minority within its fold. It is no doubt a composite culture where the Hindu culture in its socio-religious characteristics predominate. From a sociological standpoint, therefore, it should be expected that Indian bureaucracy should reflect in essence the cultural patterns of India and that in its structural aspects, institutional outlook and policies it should impart its basic qualities and characteristics to the official organization through which India is governed at present. From the social-psychologic standpoint, however, we cannot stop short of the above inference but have to make a deeper appreciation of Indian bureaucracy in its symbiotic relationship with Indian culture as stated above.

All-India services and status-group consciousness

For the social-psycholgist, culture is a dispositional concept like personality in that it embodies the shared behaviour, beliefs and material objects belonging to small social groups. As Dr. S. C. Dube ably summarises: "A culture develops when groups of people living in constant interaction come to share certain ways of behaving, thinking and doing things. And although each individual obviously does not act mechanically and with complete conformity in every situation, it is possible, within a given culture, for one to find the range within which, most if not all, behaviour will fall and the limits beyond which it will not go. The extent to which all members of the group share in this range of behaviour is an index of the cultural homogeneity of the society."* The essential step for studying the areas of shared behaviour in Indian bureaucracy thus falls under certain categories. These are (a) All India Services in which the conditions of recruitment, training and service details automatically confer on the members a shared outlook and patterns of behaviour, (b) The cadres of senior and junior officials with identical service conditions, emoluments and prospects. These also include the gazetted and non-gazetted categories and in four grades of Government servants that confer on each grade a certain basic unity in approach towards matters affecting their career and above all invest on them *a status-group consciousness* of an acute nature. Viewed in this way, the cultural components of the Indian bureaucracy could be gleaned and understood in simpler terms of status-groups with differing scales of pay and economic strength. But, basically the impact of the complex culture of India on Indian bureaucracy does not cease with this apparent stratification on the official level. In essential terms we have therefore to look deeper into Indian Society and its problems for a worthwhile hypothesis of the behaviour patterns of Indian officials either in compact groups of services or grades or in their total essence of what one might term as the typical Indian bureaucratic world-outlook and its social character.

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* See *Journal of Social Research,* Vol. I, September, 1958, Bihar.

Status means in essence "the position in a social system occupied by designated individuals". When a person is recruited to Government service it confers on him a status not only within his primary group and intra-familial relationships but also in the out-groups and within the larger scheme of status-gradations that are embodied in bureaucracy. Indian bureaucracy is not different from other bureaucracies of the world in this sense except that in the proliferation of status gradations at various stages, it has a marked similarity to the status scheme of things within the predominant sector of Indian Society viz. the Hindu social system. The caste is essentially social rank and in its system of gradations it is surprisingly simliar to the status-gradations of the artificial group or association such as that underlying official hierarchies. The caste hierarchy is undeniably a status grouping artificially brought-about in society. The sociological interpretations of caste in India by Indian scholars have carefully avoided reference to it in terms of status or role, two basic concepts that serve their useful purpose in analytical sociology today. But the status-gradations of bureaucracy and caste gradations of Hindu society have one distinct difference between them and that is that while the former has no explicit cultural orientation about it and has been brought about by considerations of organization on an impersonal plane, the latter has been expressly conceived and ordained on the individual and group plane with the cultural motivation of social control. Both are essentially motivated by social control in the sense that both systems are meant for the consolidation of the bonds of society. The soil on which both grow and proliferate is society itself. Both are arbitrarily willed systems with the same purpose. However, there are some basic and inherent differences between the two that we fail to notice on the surface. Status-gradations in bureaucracy per se have no ethnic or cultural bias about them. Services have been constituted not to form classes or castes but to rule the country. They transform themselves into castes only when they outgrow their purpose and arrogate to themselves the privileges of social castes and borrow their prestige. Status-groups or gradations in bureaucracy were never originally meant to be hereditary but have assumed the characteristics of hereditary castes only when on a mimetic urge, the officialdom began copying the accepted features of society and recruited sons and relatives to swell their groups. Thus, status-gradations of any bureaucracy were not originally, or even theoretically meant to perpetuate themselves in any familial or social sense but to perform their official task through the officially fixed span of service and retire into oblivion. There were no social motivations in the process except in the larger sense of organising society for administrative and social action through bureaucracy. This is particularly true of India.

Indian bureaucracy and its early set up during British rule was divorced from the realities of Indian social situation and was expressly willed as such. Indian bureaucracy came nearer to Indian society only after Indian independence through a series of short-cuts and in an effort to nourish itself through symbiosis. The phrase *"Indianisation of Services"* of which we used to hear so much before 1947, in this sense meant in essence this process of bringing bureaucracy nearer to Indian society and establishing a vital link. Whatever may have been the surface political or economic considerations, in strict sociological terms it meant the mediation of the bureaucratic personality in Indian social structure and vice versa the conditioning of bureaucracy by the newly generated social forces to a larger extent than ever before. This in its turn generated a two fold movement that overlapped one another particularly after independence. There has been a progressive bureaucratisation so that social and economic life came increasingly under central control. There has at the same time been the progressive interaction of the bureaucratic systems with social institutions such as caste that led to the strengthening of these forces within bureaucracy itself. From the angle of status-gradations therefore the resulting situation is interesting. Official status and social status began to be merged so that the upper castes began to occupy the higher civil posts and lower castes in the lower posts while scheduled castes and tribal communities had to wait on the periphery for their turn for admission. To start with it was the British Administrator who set the ball rolling and it is undeniable that but for this, the representation of backward classes and scheduled classes in the official hierarchies would have been of negligible proportions. The unremitting labour of the late Dr. B. R. Ambedkar cannot be forgotten and have to be remembered, not so much in this context in terms of the yeoman services that he did for these classes but essentially in having succeeded in his efforts to correct a wrong approach towards matters of recruitment that prevailed for a very long time. Ambedkar had attempted to theorize seriously on the very foundations of Indian Society and drawn attention to the sociological significance of recognising the truth that Hindu Society was but "infamy" until the problems of the backward and scheduled castes were faced and solved. The process of the gradual admission of number of these classes to the privileges enjoyed by the larger Hindu Soceity was accelerated largely through his efforts. In the social-historical setting of India this is but a natural process, the selective process by which the earliest cultural conquerors of India the Aryan Brahmins began establishing their social control over the masses of India and had succeeded in retaining the Hindu religious framework through a system of ritual, belief and caste-gradations with themselves enjoying the primacy in every walk of life. The cynic is apt to read the influence of the *Chaturvarna* into the official gradation of Government servants into four classes. But what is unmistakable is the rapidly increasing mediation of the roles of the bureaucrat in the social structure by virtue of this reapprochment between the two that has taken place in India after independence.

This statement is apt to be misleading in the context of an urbanised culture of any cosmopolitan society such as those of selected groups in large cities. The distance of bureaucracy continues to be far between itself and the urbanised sector of Indian Society and *vice versa* in the sense that in urban life caste looses its rigidity and social importance and hence cannot draw its strength from bureaucracy directly unlike the situation prevailing in villages. Therefore, in terms of status-values the bureaucrat domiciled in any major city will not have much influence on his environment except to the extent of propping up a few of his relatives or friends within the offices or in lucrative lines of business or commerce where he wields influence. But otherwise the urbanised sector of Indian culture cannot easily seep into Indian bureaucracy and *vice versa* except as a selective and cautious give and take process between homogeneous groups in bureaucracy and those in the city. This point could be tested in relation to what we see of the location of Central Government offices. If a Central Government Office located in Bombay is headed and staffed by South Indians, it is natural that the South Indian element in Bombay having anything to do with the office should benefit and in effect draw sustenance from that situation. The nearness of bureaucracy to the larger society in any part of India is *prima facie* thus determined by the presence of homogeneous groups in both. However, this does not apply to the State Governments and their Secretariat wherein with the exception of Senior Officers belonging to All-India Services and departmental cadres, the junior cadres and staff have necessarily to be composed of the local elements. Where these elements are not specially of any caste or community, there would all the same be a unilingual affinity that confers on them a distinct group consciousness. The core of the situation might be composed of selected persons belonging to certain Upper Castes who by reasons of better education or favour shown in recruitment succeed in cornering the important lower posts. In the State Secretariats, therefore, the reflex of society should be normally more prominent irrespective of the fact whether the city is cosmopolitan or not or again whether the employees are all mainly from within the city, its suburbs or far off villages. The ecological factors have a dominant place in the formulation of the present approach and will be recognised as one of the main group of factors, conditioning structurization of caste groups within bureaucracy. Secondly, the condition of acceptance by the public of any large city of major Governmental policies is the presence in the Government of their culture-heroes in the form of Ministers or top officials. Madras was happy when a leading political figure of the city was at the centre as a Minister. Bombay is quiescent since two stalwart leaders of the ruling party are at the centre. This is in essence the principle of political representation in any country. But in India political representation does not stop short of representation in Government of disinterested political leaders alone but should in the light of the foregoing analysis, mean the parallel formation of homogeneous groups —caste groups or linguistic groups—and the accession of their undoubted strength within the bureaucratic machinery. What is true of this in India in this sense has its parallel in the Western world also in classes. It was thus that the irate Lenin once wrote: "People always have been and always will be stupid victims of deceit and self-deception in politics until they learn behind every kind of moral, religious, political, social phrase, declaration and promise to seek out the interests of this or that class or classes".

The evolution of bureaucracy in any country has thus borne the same impress as that of a political party, in the sense that it ultimately comes to bear the impress of the leading class or status-group that succeeds in the long run in bringing itself to the top ladder of the hierarchy. In this context, it is interesting to recall the familiar criticism of the Brahmin bureaucrats from various parts of India retaining the plums of Government Service in India. Suffice it to say that the caste scheme in India has perceptibly influenced Indian bureaucracy so that if any leading caste or class of people failed to impose cultural control over any sector of the larger society it was rendered possible for them to reinforce the same through the instrument of bureaucracy. Let us recall in this context the familiar outcry that Hindi is being forced on the South Indians by the Aryan element entrenched in Indian bureaucracy. There is also another important reason for this situation. Government in India it should be recalled is by far the biggest employer and hence the entire adult educated population with rare exceptions in the commercialised urban centres look to it for employment. This has, obviously, affected our education system also and threaten to break down the very social foundations. The cultural content of any bureaucratic system is thus, theoretically speaking, reinforced when its ranks are filled up with a disproportionate number of culture-conscious persons or groups largely drawn from the villages and small towns. These persons need not be of the same caste or class but could be of the same region with a unilingual affinity and with a distinct economic motivation of earning better livelihood in the urban centres, the major cities and the Capital itself.

An important consequence of the mediation of the caste-complex in the institutionalised relationships of Indian bureaucracy has been the reduction in the polarity between officers and staff. As more and more officers of one group/community enter the ranks of Government service, they infuse a sense of security into the minds of the members of staff belonging to their group/community. The staff therefore look up to officers for help and protection in times of stress and actively seek to bring about a community of interests within the office/Department/Ministry. Thus indirectly the polarity between officers and staff is reduced and is replaced by the polarity of rival groups. In this process official discipline gets deteriorated and double standards in treatment and favouritism flourish. The Bureaucratic system thus gets a community orientation in its organisational matters. Quips against the Government in any country throw light on this situation. Basically, it is created by the cultural spread of caste or the class dimensions within bureaucracy itself and is rooted in what sociologists call 'ethnocentrism'. A caste is essentially ethnocentric in the sense that it considers itself "as the centre of everything and all others are scaled and rated with reference to it". "Emotionally it finds expression in a sympathetic awareness and approval of ones own fellows and their ways and per contra in a feeling of fear, suspicion and contempt towards outsiders and their ways". "Ethnocentrism receives strong support in the marked tendency of people to think in terms of groups rather than as individuals. It is far easier to label an individual with a class designation, such as Jew, Capitalist, or atheist and then to pigeonhole him once and for all than it is to arrive at a reasoned estimate of a complex personality, an estimate moreover which is necessarily tentative and subjest to change with increasing acquaintance". The caste surnames in India persist in bureaucracy and to the outside observer the impression is inescapable that the higher civil posts are mainly occupied by members of leading castes. This is so in spite of the effort to seek anonymity under standard cultural names by dropping caste surnames under the guise of a progressive outlook born of Western education. The official who openly denounces caste and refuses to have anything to do with caste may not necessarily pass on far a progressive-minded individual either in society or in the bureaucratic organisation but is likely to be taken lightly by his colleagues as an abnormal individual. This is so far the reason that caste or community consciousness that is ethnocentrism properly so called, is the accepted pattern of social outlook in India. To the average Hindu (or even Christian for that matter) this feeling emanates from a recognised, natural and permanent (to some divinely ordained) socio-cultural entity. The dilution of this attitude can only take place in an industrialised urban milieu with no immediate links with the community level of organization that is characteristic of the village society. Here we come to the famous basic concepts of Ferdinand Toennies, the *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesselschaft.* This dichotomy is most noticeable in Indian institutions. Hence, bureaucracy is not an exception and cannot possibly be so under any circumstances. The official's behaviour should therefore be culturally determined in this sense that in spite of his participating in a depersonalized scheme of things his behaviour—pattern inside the office has to be necessarily culturally determined and there is no escape from it at the risk of social disapproval. How often we hear in our villages that Shri X or Shri Y in spite of his having attained phenomenal heights in Government service, has failed to help his people in the village or his relatives who sought help from him. This goes to show that those who seek to rise above the overall influences of their society through the accident of a different cultural influence since childhood or adult stage or through sheer indifference are reckoned as disloyal to their group/caste/community and hence they are regarded as contra-cultural. Indian society has outlived its tribal stage when castes were in a position to overtly penalise these dissident groups of persons. Hence its only weapon against them now is to show aloofness and a studied lack of warmth in inter-personal relations. It is the considered opinion of this writer that within limits the number of such people are steadily on the increase and that English-educated, widely-travelled and economically affluent bureaucrats are now in the process of forming groups in different parts of the country and among whom caste gets atomised and dissolved through intermarriages and the absorption of wholly different if pretentious cultural traits. However, this process is taking place only on the upper reaches of society and has not seeped down to the lower layers. However, their example is being steadily followed.

Socio-cultural determination of behaviour

Even after the atomisation of castes within selected milieu there is the after-effect in the minds of such people in the form of a traumatic experience that has a far-reaching consequence. To prove this hypothesis, one requires case studies of a varied character. These studies could be of immense value in establishing the truth that no Indian has ever succeeded fully in integrating the cultural influences derived by him through Western education or wide travel within his own personality system. What passes on for highly polished behaviour of the western pattern could be discerned as the externalized (not internalized) cultural traits, superficially acquired in a western social situation. Of course, the criteria of judgment differ in the case of persons who were subjected to different cultural influences from early childhood. In essence, however, the socio-cultural determinism of behaviour is proved in this context and whatever the influences that permeate Indian society, ethnocentrism continues to have its hold on the minds of persons. Ethnocentrism is no longer the overt feeling that it was in the gemeinschaft in India but a covert feeling everywhere. In fact those who nourish it and behave accordingly cannot deny that in their subjective consciousness they do so with a feeling of guilt also. The more we talk of anti-casteism under the cover of reformism, this guilt-complex is bound to increase, since the individual appears to be struggling against himself under its impact and succeed only in reinforcing his conviction of the need for a group-loyalty either towards his caste or the outer society or status-group within bureaucracy. In strict sociological terms, the dissident member of any group has never been a happy person in as much as group-approbation is a basic requisite for a normal member of any group/caste/community.

The social action of the group is based on the conscious orientation of members of group towards one another. In Indian society it is the caste-gradation more than anything else that has brought about the consistent pattern in social action and not any overwhelming influence of any political ideology. When Ministers and departments are overwhelmingly influenced by a group of caste-conscious or community-oriented persons holding key positions there is greater ease with which the major decisions could be carried out. The communication chain is smooth and there are very few breakdowns. "Tickle me Tobby, I shall also tickle you". This principle works out perfectly until extra-social considerations assume greater importance and there is disturbance in the personalized group relations built up by the conscious orientation of members of identical castes or those hailing from the same Province or speaking the same language. Efficiency in performance has thus become the precipitate of an equilibrium artificially brought about by a group of persons on personal grounds and not on functional grounds. It is thus that we find that when "the complementarity of the expectations" of the group members towards the leader of the group/or its economically stronger members are not fulfilled, this gives rise to social criticism and they are therefore considered disloyal to the group. This situation is unmistakable in the bureaucratic set-up in India today.

Towards an ethocracy

There is, however, one important point to be stressed here. The orientation of the group is not merely based under present economic and social conditions on ethnocentrism but also on another variety of it termed as *"ethnoexpansionism"*. This word is a coinage by Professor Lapierre of Stanford University, U.S.A. According to Lapierre "Any idealistically motivated endeavour to conquer culturally the members of other groups and societies is sharply at variance with the monopolising aspect of ethnocentrism. Ethno-expansionism as this anomalous phenomenon may be termed is like ethnocentrism in that it involves the assumption that one's own ways are *per se* superior to all other ways of life and that the circumstances one enjoys should be desired by all men. But whereas the former leads to persevering the in-groups' monopoly on their distinctive cultural or other social attributes, the latter leads to efforts to induce members of outgroups to adopt the valued mode of conduct and presumably thereby to achieve something of status enjoyed by the in-group." The concept of ethno-expansionism is of particular value to the analysis of the cultural content of Indian bureaucracy. When the upper castes assume social control through bureaucracy it is not merely their motivation and aim to expand their ranks through favouritism shown to co-caste members but also to idealise their status-situation and invest their valued modes of life with a quality that they consider as acceptable to other groups/castes/community. It can also reach national levels as major lines of policy in any field of social action and could also reflect itself in the foreign policy and relations. The *Weltanschauung* of the caste is thus foisted on the nation at large through a central bureaucratic apparatus over which the caste assumes significant control. And when it reaches the national level it could be used for purposes of cultural propaganda abroad. In this context, what Gerth and Mills say is of particular relevance to what is regarded as the efforts made by some of our culture-heroes to spread Hindu culture. It is also of relevance to the excessive importance that some persons attach to the cultural spread of Hinduism and Buddhism to South East Asian countries and the Far East, a matter in which the cultured elite of these countries have mental reservations if not positive resentment. "Pride in one's nation, often involves an ethnocentric affirmation of the nation's peculiarities. This sense of superiority typically feeds on the notion of the exemplary significance of one's nation-state for other nations without any ambition to do more than propagate this prestigeful image".* Let us recall in this connection the stock criticism levelled by the foreign press on Indian foreign policy, its formulators and on Indian culture in general. The *holier-than-thou* attitude that some of our leaders betray also stems from the basic dichotomy in behaviour of ethnocentrism and ethnoexpansionism born of the ethico-religious norms that are at variance with societies in other countries. The Indian mind is not yet emancipated from its class or caste roots so that when it seeks to project itself into world problems it cannot divest itself of its pristine character. In bureaucracy ethnoexpansionism can take varied shapes. The sacro-sanctity attached to gazetted and Class I posts, the superficial behaviour-patterns of the holders of these posts, the fantastic manipulations done in the matter of recruitment and promotions, the character-assassination covertly practiced in the writing of confidential reports etc. bear the unmistakable impress of ethnocentrism and ethno-expansionism of groups within bureaucracy. The cultural content of our bureaucracy is thus exercising a pernicious influence on our official structure, not only by reason of its continued expansion but due to the unabated influences that it is subjected to from the society at large. Hence, the conclusion is inescapable that no caste-ridden society can throw up the idealistic edifice of a casteless bureaucracy and that as long as society is not purged of caste gradations it will remain a far cry for the day when we succeed in setting up a welfare-motivated official hierarchy untainted by corruption or nepotism. Until then it is inescapable that the behaviour patterns of officials will continue to bear the deep impress of the inevitable socio-cultural determinism. This situation calls for individual and community therapy on a very large scale. The outlines of these therapeutic techniques will have to be evolved through patient study and research under the head of *welfare of Government servants* on which the Government of India are at present bestowing attention.*

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* See *Character and Social Structure* by Gerth and Mills.

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* For the author's views on the subject see 'Studies in Public Administration' appearing in *The New Administrator*, Madras, Vol. I, No. 9, July, 1959 and other issues.

they are healthy from the standpoint of 'adjustment' they are more sick than the neurotic person from the standpoint of realization of their aims as human beings".* Not so the Indian Brahmin—particularly the Tamil Brahmin. His battle is not over and he refuses to abide by the judgment of the majority unless it is a matter that directly or indirectly strengthens his social control. When the whole of India voted with the late indomitable Sardar Patel of revered memory for the integration of Indian States, it is fantastically significant that the dynamic Brahmin Dewan of Travancore and a well-known political personality stood for the independence of Travanmore. Similar cases could be gleaned from the writings of Shri V. P. Menon on the integration of Indian States after independence.† All categories of foreign invaders of India, not to speak of the British, have realised this fundamental fact of maladjustment and picked up their aides and counsellors on social control from maladjusted Indians. Similarly, when the British Government wanted to create a Free Corps to fight the Germans during the last war their choice had fallen on the Germans settled in England with maladjusted homes. The maladjusted person will be ready to be used against the interests of his own society as he gets an opportunity to ventilate his deep frustrations against larger society either in an overtly aggressive manner or better still through the foisting of his own ideas with the sanction of authority. This is why when paranoid types come to occupy positions of power and influence in the government, life bcomes literally impossible for his subordinates and the staff. To some extent this was true of the Anglo-Indians during British regime as well.* And in India too the Brahmins acquiesced to the British since that helped them to safeguard their status-situation. This is the greatest paradox of Indian history, of social and political evolution that presents us with the most important sociological problem of socializing the Brahmin and revealing his social identity.

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* See *Psychoanalysis of Religion*, London, 1950.

† More recent instances of this ideological conflict and display of caste neurosis could be gleaned in the parliamentary debates and press comments on the Hindu Marriage Bill and the official language questions.

‡ A similar situation in a more accentuated fashion was observed by me during my stay in the Madagascar island between 1953-1955. where the French colonial Government have been using the mixed race or *metis* against Malagasy nationalists.

Maladjustment and abnormality are not merely the results of differences in colour or culture. They need not spring solely from the consciousness among the members of the group of ethnic differences *vis a vis* the larger society within which they have to survive after their immigration. They may be due to other reasons such as bio-psychological potentialities. As Halmos correctly points out "The sociologist has not yet come to appreciate fully that actual behaviour is not the only kind from which the norm can be obtained. The bio-psychological potentialities i.e. inherited potentialities of human beings are not realized in the majority behaviour of any culture and it is my contention that these potentialities constitute the ontological basis of the pan-human norm"*. In regard to the Brahmin the biological potentiality is the weakest of the two. Biologically, the racial strength and even strains of the immigrant Aryans have spent themselves out long ago and the intermarriages and in fact the elevation of many lower castes and groups to Brahminhood, had reduced the racial strains to the lowest degree. As a matter of fact, the Tamil Brahmin is an interesting subject for study by the Geneticist in the sense that mutations are taking place within the same family and Aryan and Dravidian atavisms are reflecting themselves during successive births of children within the same honorable household. Biologically then it is far-fetched in the present state of our knowledge to attribute creative behaviour on grounds of their belonging to any distinct race or as one having acquired biological resurgence through cultural fertilization.† The Indian Brahmin of latter his knowledge.* The Brahmin's place is thus more in the sociology of knowledge rather than in the theory of knowledge or epistemology. Brahmin scholars in India have been more anxious to fit the cultural roles of the Brahmin in the theory of knowledge and not the sociology of knowledge. They have so far eminently succeeded in this and thus safeguarded their status situation. However, the social identity of the Brahmin cannot any longer be hidden away in any symbolism or myth but has to be unravelled and reduced to its concrete proportions. He has been as much a participant of the social and historical processes of India as any other member of Indian society. By the constitution of castes the Brahmin not only limited his own mental horizons but also created a mental shackle of not being able to acquire pure knowledge in a larger universe of action. Through successive generations he had deliberately tied his mind to the existing social order and developed a thought process of social dominance through social control. What was thus a realistic world view of the caste became a private ideology. In concrete terms what we witness in Indian political evolution is the conjunction and compromises of this private ideology of the Brahmin castes with larger and secular ideological forces. This is an unceasing process. As W. Stark says "no caste-order is cast-iron; all have cracks and chinks, as it were through which other principles of social organization can seep in, and this explains why in spite of all social determination of thought i.e. the determination of concrete thought-processes through the existing social order, the human mind is never completely tied to one pattern, though naturally enough the pattern in agreement with things as they are will always be the dominant one." The *'Social Brahmin'* is no doubt, a less interesting person than a *'Cultural Brahmin'*. This dichotomy is characteristic of the deficiencies of the traditional approaches towards epistemology in India. What Werner Stark says in a general context strikes me a true to the Indian situation also. "According to the sociology of knowledge, it is illegitimate and even absurd to divorce man *qua* perceiver and knower of the external world from man *qua* member of a concrete society. Nobody can acquire knowledge without being alive; but to be alive means, in the case of man, to be part and parcel of ongoing social processes—processes which are not just a background of his personal consciousness, but in a very definite sense of the word, operative within it, and constitutive of it. From this point of view the sociology of knowledge may appear as a complement to or perhaps even as a corrective of the traditional approach to the problem of epistemology".* The intuition of the Brahmin mind is thus not a quality that he acquired *sui-generis* but through social interaction with other members of society whom he artificially divided into a vertical hierarchy of castes.†

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* See *Towards a Measure of Man*, p. 48.

† This point requires detailed research. Creative imagination and its biological origins is ably dealt with by R. W. Gerard on 'The biological basis of imagination' in the symposium on *The Creative Process* edited by Brewster Ghiselin. Mentor book, University of California 1958. Also see *Human Potentialities* by Gardiner Murphy, Basic Books Inc., New York 1959.

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* The more central element in Brahmanical social action is '*Cathexis*' or the general capacity and readiness for canalization "at such points as give new meaningful structures, new relationship of person to world. In so far as responses are merely iterative they involve the restamping of old patterns; in so far as responses to the relations waiting to be discovered, they may properly be called creative. In so far as they are meaningful in terms of what one already is, they involve the projection of oneself into the future." See *"Human Potentialities"* by Gardiner Murphy, Basic Books Inc., New York 1958. Page 171. Talcot Parsons also stresses on the Cathective orientation in the personality system. See my chapter on 'Structure of Hindu Social Action'.

In his stimulating work on the sociology of knowledge, Werner Stark had apologetically introduced two neologisms viz. the *microsociology of knowledge* and *the macrosociology of knowledge*. This was done to distinguish between the two because macrosociology of knowledge "fixes its attention on the inclusive society and its influence, the social macrocosm as it were, and the other microsociology of knowledge because it is concerned with the narrower world of scholarship and art, with the domestic world, so to speak, of the man of scholarship and artistic creation".* To my mind, this is a very important contribution for the sociology of knowledge particularly in relation to Indian conditions. If we go back to the four-fold divisions of Hinduism we may characterise them as the cultural imprint of the Brahmin under the head of macrosociology of knowledge whereas in terms of the values and life styles that local Hinduism underlined particularly in its relation to the mimetic attempt by the surrounding non-Brahmin groups or castes, these come under microsociology of knowledge. The social control dimension of the Brahmins were born within the family and the primary group with its institutions whereas his *apostolic motivation* was the product of his scholarship as a priest and teacher. This is the field for the study of Brahmanical symbolism and myths. However, under the head of macrosociology of knowledge the field of study enlarges to cover both the ancient and modern versions of the larger and extensive adaptations by the Brahmin of the social control techniques that he had originally fashioned within his inclusive society. So far as our study goes, therefore, the two systems of the sociology of knowledge are not mutually exclusive but complementary.

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* *The Sociology of Knowledge*, p. 14.

† This is as good as restating Karl Manneheim's viewpoint that the task of sociology of knowledge consists in working out this functional role of social, existentially involved thinking. See W. Stark, p. 262. Also see Manneheim K. *Ideology and Utopia*, Harcourt Brace, New York, 1936.

The study of Hinduism either as henotheism or pantheism automatically takes us to the same position as stated above. In the microsociological sense the Hindu religion means the henotheism of MaxMuller i.e. the worshipping of God only at a time as the most high—the absolute. But in the macrosociological sense it assumes a pantheistic character with '*Upadevatas*', '*Istadevatas*' and a plurality of Gods. Similarly the Brahmanical values under the microsociology of knowledge are found to be extrapolated under the macrosociology of knowledge under the persistent influence of the agencies and techniques of social control employed by the Brahmins themselves. In an anthropological sense, this was the manner in which the pre-Aryan Matriarchal Society of India gave way to the Aryan patriarchal society and its institutions. Without tiring the reader further with these distinctions I would like to attempt below an axiological paradigm summarising the major portion of this thesis as follows:

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* See *Sociology of Knowledge*, p. 20.

The Sociology of Knowledge

Microsociology of knowledge.	*Macrosociology of knowledge.*
Patriarchal family	Matriarchal family
Monogamy	Polyandry, polygyny
Primogeniture	Mother-right
Ritualism	Primitive rituals and blood sacrifices.
Symbolism	Polytheism, animism

Social Control

Chaturvarna or the four castes	Social democratic classes
Individual autisms	Social autisms
Ethnocentrism	Ethnoexpansionism
Use of sanskritic mantras	Sanskritisation of languages e.g. Malayalam.
Domestic policy	Foreign policy
Individual creativeness	Institutional creativeness

Institutions

Family values	National value-patterns
Family chapel and village gods	Temple worship and national religious festivals
Child rearing practices	Educational policies of the Government
Parental authority and the projection of parental frustration in child's education.	Bureaucracy and its use through caste-groupings for social control.

The above paradigm is far from complete. The order of arrangement under the two systems of the sociology knowledge may convey the impression of being antinomic. But, essentially, they are one and the same, a circle within a circle, on the same lines that local Hinduism is enveloped by a larger circle of regional or peninsular Hinduism and the latter by all-India Hinduism. Fundamentally, it is the same as subject and object, man and society, love and hate and comes under the *categories of understanding.** It is these categories that make real knowldge on the sociological conditions of India

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* These categories of understanding themselves are socially determined. To quote W. Stark:

"The mental life of a society is not unity *and* diversity; it is unity-in-diversity and diversity-in-unity. As to the scope and limits of pos-

possible. It is in the disjunction and the artificial separation of these two major catefories of understanding (that are essentially the same phenomena) that maladjustment is produced and neuroses are born in society.† It is my contention that to the extent that the Brahmin seeks more actively to expand his social control activities in India the more he will become neurotic because he is getting maladjusted in that process. A parallel development would be the distortion in the thinking of the masses who prefer Brahmanical Hinduism to other secular religions. The social control dimension in the personality structure is not a normal dimension except to the extent that it is limited to the family of the individual and at best among his own small group of relatives and admirers from among the dissident members of other groups. It is abnormal in axiological terms when it projects itself in the outer society and seeks to create agencies for social control. The Brahmin as the carrier of culture has almost succeeded in his social control techniques in independent India so that his maladjustment within society has greatly increased in spite of the cultural dynamism that he has generated. The

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sible individual deviation from the central theme, it is impossible to lay down a general law for this, unless it be to say that, generally speaking, the more closely textured a society is, the narrower the limitations will be and the looser its coherence, the wider the latitude within which the pendulum can swing. Societies will vary greatly in this respect according to their total integration which is no less decisive for the freedom of the individual mind than it is for the freedom of individual action. Such societies will form a whole gamut or scale at one end of which we shall find the most closely integrated community, with the thoughts and beliefs of its members all lying close together and manifestly so, and at the other the most incoherent types of association in which it will be wellnigh impossible to discover a common theme beneath the discordant variations, although even here such a common theme must exist in the depths of total dissolution of the social bond is to be avoided".

See *Sociology of Knowledge* by W. Stark, p. 284.

† Prof. Radhakamal Mukherjee approaches this from another interesting angle. According to him neurosis is the symptom of disharmony between reality and symbol. See his paper on 'Sociology in a new frame of reference: Man, Symbol and Society' in *Ghurye Felicitation Volume*, Bombay, 1954, pp. 66-78.

inference is that the cultural dynamism in India including the chauvinism implicit in it, is the result of the increasing neurosis of the Brahmin. The members of the small social group of Brahmins in the South have been traditionally neurotic in speech habits, mannerisms and in their general outlook that is permeated with a sense of anxiety. This aspect of the personality of the Brahmin and the social factors conditioning it require more fundamental research. This is so because they could never adjust themselves, except in a few cases of families, with their environment in all matters of life style or customs. In matters of social interaction it was the Brahmin who influenced the non-Brahmin groups and not *vice versa.* This naturally has imposed the greatest strain on the small Brahmin groups in South India who thus spoke of their *'dharma'* to defend their insularity and preserve their singular ways of life. In this sense the concept of *'dharma'* has been greatly misused. This is the important starting point to study the origins of abnormality in South India. As Paul Halmos says "Adjustment as a process connotes interaction between one entity and another. It is often taken for granted that adjustment occurs between two factors, the individual and his environment and that an adjustment condition is the permanent effect of the interaction, an effect which will subsequently determine later interactions."* It is important not to forget the vital relation of social perception to further the person's adjustment to society. The perception of the personal characteristics of the Brahmin in the village, town and city in relation to his enacted roles has a direct social relevance and supply the substance for a detailed study of the origins of social control. This approach requires a new definition and understanding of personality. The *social-stimulus value* of personality require a definition on the lines attempted by Prof. T. H. Pear. According to him "personality is the effect upon others of a living being's appearance, behaviour, etc. so far as they are interpreted as distinctive signs of that

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*See *Towards a Measure of Man, the frontiers of normal adjustment,* London, 1957. p. 42.

being". In a study that stresses the immigrant character of the Brahmin in South India this approach has its potent uses for research.*

Since millenia the Brahmin has evaded socialization and refused to concede his social identity as a sheer mortal of flesh and blood. The mimetic efforts of the masses to consider him as *beau ideal* in speech, appearance and social roles had in effect precluded any possibility of the Brahmin realising himself to be such. As adoration and respect increased around it was but natural that his personality got conditioned in that process. Even today, in a caste-conscious group the Brahmin, howsoever advanced he may be in thinking, will not fail to take advantage of the time-honoured status-situation. An index of this was the observation of Brahmins in villages prominently displaying their sacred thread. Instances have also been reported by which the Brahmins were molested by deirate partisans of political movements in the South and deprived of their sacred thread! These singularities in personal attire and/or religious and caste marks are fast loosing their social-stimulus value and significance in the larger urban society. In his ethnocentrism and efforts to carry and spread his culture against heavy odds he has turned out to be an impatient, aggressive, abnormal and neurotic type. Indications are that the Brahmin will continue to be so maladjusted until he completely succeeds in his social control of the masses of India. The normal adjustment of the Brahmin is therefore confined to fields where his relations are in harmony with his environment and where he is *primus interpares*. Examples of such well adjusted relations are not only the family but secondary institutions such as a school or college, the Government office, the private clinics or hospital, a research institute or any quasi-independent institution in some other field that has come fully within his control and forms his operational orbit. However, the cultural dynamism in India is in a sense the residuum of the maladjustment of the Brahmin with his environment that resulted in his continued state of neurosis.

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* See *Personality, Appearance and Speech* by T. H. Pear, London. George Allen and Unwin, 1957.

The Brahmin is anxious about his present as well as his future. He is therefore more circumspect and calculating than the members of other social groups for making rapid and dynamic adjustments with his changing environment. When Brahmin political leaders resolutely working for the completion of Brahminical social control are suddenly confronted with a radical political ideology such as communism that shakes up their whole being and concepts, they are apt to be not only neurotic but excessively hysterical. If the reader will separately collect and analyse their statements to the press and utterances on social occasions, I feel sure that he will be convinced of this point. These represent their private ideologies that conflict with larger ideologies that resulted from more complicated social processes than what gave birth to the caste ideology of the Indian, particularly the South Indian Brahmin. He is therefore extremely anxious to fit in his ideology artificially into the Marxist ideology and has been exerting himself to trace communism in the Brahmanical heritage and thus give a cultural root to the *Brahmanical communism* of the future. For even in the practice of communism and after the advent of communism in India, if ever it takes place at all, the Brahmin will be loath to give up his self-constituted status situation. In psychological terms what happens is that the Brahmin is rendered more anxious about his status-situation and the success of his social control techniques, the permanence and durability of the agencies and institutions of his own creation that he would like to perpetuate for his own interests, albeit under the guise of the larger interests of the masses. The pathology of political and social institutions in India has, thus as its base, this unfortunate maladjustment of its protagonists. It is profound truth when Eric Fromm describes this situation in a general context as follows: "The vast majority of our people in our culture are well adjusted because they have given up the battle for independence sooner and more radically than the neurotic person. They have accepted the judgment of the majority so completely that they have been spared the sharp pain of conflict which the neurotic person goes through. While they are healthy from the standpoint of 'adjustment' they are more sick than the neurotic person from the standpoint of realization of their aims as human beings".* Not so the Indian Brahmin—particularly the Tamil Brahmin. His battle is not over and he refuses to abide by the judgment of the majority unless it is a matter that directly or indirectly strengthens his social control. When the whole of India voted with the late indomitable Sardar Patel of revered memory for the integration of Indian States, it is fantastically significant that the dynamic Brahmin Dewan of Travancore and a well-known political personality stood for the independence of Travancore. Similar cases could be gleaned from the writings of Shri V. P. Menon on the integration of Indian States after independence.† All categories of foreign invaders of India, not to speak of the British, have realised this fundamental fact of maladjustment and picked up their aides and counsellors on social control from maladjusted Indians. Similarly, when the British Government wanted to create a Free Corps to fight the Germans during the last war their choice had fallen on the Germans settled in England with maladjusted homes. The maladjusted person will be ready to be used against the interests of his own society as he gets an opportunity to ventilate his deep frustrations against larger society either in an overtly aggressive manner or better still through the foisting of his own ideas with the sanction of authority. This is why when paranoid types come to occupy positions of power and influence in the government, life bcomes literally impossible for his subordinates and the staff. To some extent this was true of the Anglo-Indians during British regime as well.* And in India too the Brahmins acquiesced to the British since that helped them to safeguard their status-situation. This is the greatest paradox of Indian history, of social and political evolution that presents us with the most important sociological problem of socializing the Brahmin and revealing his social identity.

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† More recent instances of this ideological conflict and display of caste neurosis could be gleaned in the parliamentary debates and press comments on the Hindu Marriage Bill and the official language questions.

‡ A similar situation in a more accentuated fashion was observed by me during my stay in the Madagascar island between 1953-1955. where the French colonial Government have been using the mixed race or *metis* against Malagasy nationalists.

Maladjustment and abnormality are not merely the results of differences in colour or culture. They need not spring solely from the consciousness among the members of the group of ethnic differences *vis a vis* the larger society within which they have to survive after their immigration. They may be due to other reasons such as bio-psychological potentialities. As Halmos correctly points out "The sociologist has not yet come to appreciate fully that actual behaviour is not the only kind from which the norm can be obtained. The bio-psychological potentialities i.e. inherited potentialities of human beings are not realized in the majority behaviour of any culture and it is my contention that these potentialities constitute the ontological basis of the pan-human norm"*. In regard to the Brahmin the biological potentiality is the weakest of the two. Biologically, the racial strength and even strains of the immigrant Aryans have spent themselves out long ago and the intermarriages and in fact the elevation of many lower castes and groups to Brahminhood, had reduced the racial strains to the lowest degree. As a matter of fact, the Tamil Brahmin is an interesting subject for study by the Geneticist in the sense that mutations are taking place within the same family and Aryan and Dravidian atavisms are reflecting themselves during successive births of children within the same honorable household. Biologically then it is far-fetched in the present state of our knowledge to attribute creative behaviour on grounds of their belonging to any distinct race or as one having acquired biological resurgence through cultural fertilization.† The Indian Brahmin of latter days has been against cultural fertilization except for his own survival. Besides, as we have seen under the head of local Hinduism in Kerala cultural fertilization has been more beneficial to the receiving group than to the Brahmin himself. The Nambudri-Nayar relations illustrates this standpoint. Hence, there is no reason to feel that originally certain behaviour patterns had been shaped on the group plane through biological reasons. However, psychologically it is different. As a class of priests the immigrant Brahmins had a definite behvaiour pattern of their own, in addition to their language and speech habits that they had elevated to a cultural norm. It was not merely the behaviour alone that led to this norm but also the majority aspirations that were socially conceived and partially expressed through the literary medium. In the motivational system of the personality structure of the ancient Tamil Brahmin *'apostolic motivation'* must have played a prominent part. Hence they started to impose their charismatic authority on the outgroups, to teach and control them and then to spread beyond them.† There is a kind of Nietzschean *Will-is-power* or a sort of *hormic drive* conditioning the motivation, of which we have already spoken enough under the head of the Brahmin and the neo-Indian. In the final analysis, if the Brahmin succeeds in enforcing social control over the Indian masses through the bureaucracy, there is bound to be a development in the direction of fascism. This is the unmistakable product of a situation that has parallels in other countries of the world.

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* See *Towards a Measure of Man*, p. 48.

† This point requires detailed research. Creative imagination and its biological origins is ably dealt with by R. W. Gerard on 'The biological basis of imagination' in the symposium on *The Creative Process* edited by Brewster Ghiselin. Mentor book, University of California 1958. Also see *Human Potentialities* by Gardiner Murphy, Basic Books Inc., New York 1959.

In the earlier paper on the structure of Hindu social action, I have followed the teachings of Talcott Parsons and had attempted the outline of the motivational categories in the central culture role of the Brahmin. Parsons had stated that *"essentially the dynamic elements of personalities and of social systems are made up of the same stuff"*. If this is true the majority behaviour of the Brahmins could be elevated to a cultural norm of society and reinforced on the society through the social control of the Brahmin himself. Halmos objects to the treating of social systems as resultants of personality systems and in this respect Talcott Parsons himself has not been too conistent. Halmos considers the writing large of individual dynamics into social dynamics as an extrapolation and sums up his standpoint as follows:—

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† For a different approach see Edward Spranger in *'Lebensformen'* Geistes-Wissenschaftliche Psychologie und ethik der Personlichkeit, Tubingen 1950, pp. 231-232.

> "I am very well aware of the importance of social causes which are not psychological; both physical and social factors affect motivations; but when motivations are so affected they are affected psychologically. And just as the social exerts its influence on the individual psychologically so does psychology of the individual imprint itself on its physical and social environment: Society, its institutions, symbols and so on are the vehicles, carriers of psychological meaning. Society is a bio-psycholgical creation and no matter how far in culture it may have receded from its bio-psychological origins it cannot be divorced from them. It is for this reason that we must count on biology and psychology to furnish the fundamental principles of the socially normal or abnormal".*

The exigencies of culture contact in South India had left no room for the immigrant Brahmin to preserve his racial purity. Biologically he was, no doubt a potent human type. He liked good nourishment and worldly pleasures and comforts. The lowliness and simplicity of the Brahmin priests of latter days that produced the false adage "*Simple living and high thinking*" should not cloud our view to the fact that they were originally prosperous and had had a comfortable life, thanks to the gifts and protection afforded by the kings and chieftains. As a carrier of culture, the Brahmin in South India could not emphasize too much on his racial distinction overtly and had had to make compromises. This is apparent in the symbolism of his own make. In *Subramonia* and *Ganesha* the Brahmin had to bring his symbolism to merge with South Indian realities. We have already seen under the head of Sanskritisation of languages that symbolism had a functional role to play in social control. As stated by Werner Stark "Ideas and concepts are supposed to function together on the mental level in the same way as the extramental entities they stand for, symbolize or represent, function together in life, on the level of action. Hence, they repeat or reduplicate a quasi-organic coherence and interaction. And their relation to the realities signified is also a functional one, for, surely a good symbol is not an arbitrarily chosen *quid pro quo* but rather an essentially appropriate—happily matched or harmoniously adjusted one. In all these cases, whatever the verbal cloak, the hard core of mening is functionalistic, organismic"*. Thus finally we reach the psychological categories as the primary ontology from which the psychological norm could be obtained. The psychological norm is convertible into a sociological norm. Thus it is possible to prove that *individual abnorm* of the Tamil Brahmin can be extrapolated to mean the *sociological abnorm* provided that the majority in the caste group share this common abnorm at least in varying proportions. *Where the psychological abnorm gets subsumed into a cultural norm—ethnocentrism or ethnoexpansionism—then sociologically speaking, also the cultural life of the group would be conditioned by abnormality.* The psychodynamics of the culturally oriented Brahmin is bound to permeate the cultural dynamism of the society in which he plays a key status role. This, however, is not a sociological law but a norm only.

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* See *Towards a Measure of Man*, pp. 231-232.

How far are cultural dynamism and creativeness interlinked? The phrase cultural dynamism is used here in the individual and group context of both categories striving to revive their cultural values through conscious and common effort. Cultural dynamism thus goes hand in hand with conscious cultural revival. This may be considered as the last stage of the activities of the *'cultural conqueror'* before he quits the social scene. This need not imply a revaluation or transvaluation of the older value-patterns but might simply mean their readaptation to new circumstances. Cultural revaluation of ancient thought and practices in India among Brahmin groups are largely limited to academic efforts and external publicity only. Any radical departures such as those accompanied by social reform cannot be considered as cultural dynamism as these movements represented in essence the freeing of the intelligence of the ordinary member of society from individual autisms. The cultural dynamism of India is essentially the projection of group autisms on the cultural plane. The norms of the cultural dynamism in India is, statistically, the majority behaviour. The majority of the Tamil Brahmins believe in their intrinsic superiority as individuals and groups and are relentlessly persuaded about this superiority. This feeling loads their thinking in a manner that is at once obvious and clear to the observer. Relatively speaking, they consider themselves as the best carriers of Aryan culture in the South of India. In this respect it is rather characteristic of South India that the social environment there has continually moulded and deformed their personality in alternate sequences. They had very few competitors and yet they have been in perpetual fright of future competition from non-Brahmin groups including Keralites and Andhras. Political differences and the activities of political parties, the leading roles played by Brahmin politicians in the South have to be viewed in this light of the group's *anxiety neurosis* about its status-situation. As a contrast the situation in Kerala and Coorg or Mysore may be studied. The result has been that the ethnocentrism of the Tamil Brahmin has been of a more potent and virulent type. The spirit of ethno-expansionism also bears the same striking resemblance in matters of external publicity through religious organizations and even official bodies. There is no room for creativeness in this sort of cultural dynamism as group autisms, that are cumulatively projected to the cultural dynamism, is not a healthy bed for creative efforts either on the individual or group plane. The monumental labours of a lexicographer, the admirable works of historians, the painstaking efforts at producing a religious commentary on an ancient classic or some other similar *tour de force* including those covered by the artistic fields such as music, dance, painting and sculpture do not constitute a creative effort unless these are meant for the larger society other than members of the group to which the creator belongs and have been conditioned by a positive social feeling. This is the essence of socialistic realism that is required in India today. The mind-binding notions of caste can never permit a positive fellow-feeling to intrude into the closed-in and self-righteous feeling of ethnocentrism. A plausible explanation of this outlook is to characterize it as idealistic *"by saying that it regards all concrete cultural phenomena whether they be works of the discerning mind or works of artistic creativity, as emanations of some basic mental attitude or philosophy of life, or more metaphysically, of some indwelling 'cultural soul' or what Oswald Spengler called 'Seelische Entelechie'"* (see notes under 135.) The caste-feeling particularly among Brahmins of South India however, has at its roots economic fears and anxiety about their status situation. It is this that muddy the thinking of even potentially creative types of Brahmins and transform them as spurious and yet emotionally ardent protagonists of a false cultural dynamism. The functional intelligence of the Tamil Brahmin can be enhanced only through his cultivation of a humane interest in the other groups divorced from consideration of social control.* The

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* See *The Sociology of Knowledge* p. 251. According to my friend, Yati Nitya Chaitanya, an ardent student of Hinduism the concept of *Ganapati* is the connecting link between pre-Aryan civilization and Aryan society. He states "In the concept of Ganapati the pre-Aryan contemplative and negative tradition of India merges into the Aryan positivism. The South and the North get linked in his worship. In the *havana* or fire sacrifice of Ganapati the *tila* and the coconut of South India finds a place in the *agnihotra* which was foreign to their tradition". The quotation is drawn from his unpublished MSS on 'An intelligent Man's Guide to the Hindu Religion'. For a similar interpretation on *Subramoniya* ("his name indicates saivaite spirituality revalued in the light of *Brahmaniya* or the philosophic aspect of Brahmanism." *Nitya*). See "The two consorts of Subramonian" by Dr. G. H. Mees in *The Book of Battles,* Vol. II, N. Kluwer-Deventer 1953. p. 282.

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* What is required is *Social Therapy* on a large scale and *group confessionals.* If the Brahmin is made to join non-Brahmin groups for work, play and study on the common plane the aim of therapy should be to break his psychological insularity and reform his character anew. This requires educational therapy conceived on enlightened lines. As stated by Paul Halmos "Participation in the group induces the introvert, the isolate to make contacts with others and to establish emotionally significant relationships with them or with the therapist.

Brahmin in South India has been too long in the cultural arena under various social roles and general pretexts. It is perhaps, time for him to withdraw into the larger and more intense scientific pursuits where his curiosity would be whetted by physical and natural sciences and technological developments so as to afford the necessary leaven to his self-centred material and metaphysical existence. When the Tamil Brahmin frees himself of his loaded thinking he is bound to prove himself as a highly useful member of society. However, the present trends do not justify these hopes to any great extent since he is already riding the crest of the wave of Indian cultural dynamism generated by his elemental force during the present as well as the past century. In this matter the South Indian Brahmin has numerous companions also. Cultural dynamism in India today has an unmistakable ideological orientation about it. It is coated by nationalism and surcharged by a moral sense of self-righteousness. The extent to which mass communication media in India are responsible for bringing about this situation is the excellent subject-matter for a doctoral dissertation by a post-graduate student in social psychology. The present writer does not propose to analyse this point any further.

(B) *The nature and trends of abnormality*

When a group manifests cultural dynamism as the aftermath of their successful social control techniques there arises a question in terms of the earlier analysis as to what extent it is composed of abnormal individuals. In regard to the Brahmin group or caste the scope for this study is great particularly in South India. The maladjustment of the group within the larger society is a patent fact as the social control dimensions, howsoever potent they are in the larger outlines,

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This process of 'extroverting' is in fact the principal initial tool of socialising the isolate". This is true not only of individual therapy but group therapy as well. See Halmos in *Solitude and Privacy*, p. 145. Let us recall that field sports and athletics in general seldom attract the Brahmin youth in India.

do not still succeed in bearing their impress on the smaller communities in the villages or towns and that social opprobrium or aloofness, except from the dissident groups of the surrounding communities, continue to be strong and cannot be done away with through the polished and astute techniques of social control. This is so particularly in an illiterate or semi-literate community where the Brahminical group finds itself. The social control dimensions of other religious groups such as Christians of various denominations and Islamic groups also aggravate this situation. The Brahmin has necessarily to exclude these groups from his active operational orbit. The maladjustment that results is thus largely social in the sense that the prestige image of the group cannot influence the smaller communities with tribal conditionings of a strong character or those of other religious groups with converts of their own in spite of the smattering of English or vernacular education*, and their general proneness to imitate the Brahmin. The resulting situation is that the children of the small group in small towns and villages and even in big cities instinctively feel the differences between themselves and the children of other communities and react to the difference in a manner that is complementary to the special child-rearing practices obtaining within their family. I have had occasion to refer to this aspect in the section on the characterological prototypes of the South Indian Brahmin and the element of authoritarianism brought about in the personality structure through the consciousness of ethnical differences. However, abnormality does not stop short of this aspect alone and is not limited to the circumstances of social maladjustment. It is inherent in the thought processes engendered by the Brahminical cosmogony and philosophical speculations.

Certain Hindu sociologists out of a sense of anxiety to bring the services of their discipline to the chauvinistic interpretations of the caste system and the '*Varnashrama dharma*' have been overlooking the fact that the transition from *Brahmacharya* to *Vanaprastha* among the four stages is not smooth or orderly as is laid down but is in effect precipitated by the goadings of the abnormality of the individual acquired through the various stages of experience in life or as the outcome of a sudden traumatic experience.* Here again, it is interesting to see the contrast that whereas so very few persons in European countries retire to monasteries or convents in old age, a large majority of Hindus—Brahminical Hindus—take to the *"ideology of privacy and reserve"* and accept the pursuit of study of philosophy as a matter of course and attend the *'satsanghs'* and similar organizations. To the discerning observer, the ever increasing popularity of *Yogis, Sanyasis* and *Swamis* in India is a matter of deep concern as this is directly a reflex of the increasing trends of abnormality and anomie within Indian society. (The reader may arm himself with the celebrated teachings of William James contained in his book *'The varieties of Religious experience'* before sitting in judgment over my contentions.) However, it cannot be surmised that the vast majority of people who practice the ideology are all abnormal people or even as people who have got tired of their lives and are looking for solace through scriptural talks or guidance through the expository talks given by these Swamis. The anomic strains of Indian society have a direct bearing in the proportion to which the cultured elite of Indian communities in large cities are particularly drawn towards this *'ideology of privacy and reserve'* and also of spiritual quest.

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* The eminent Indian Sociologist Dr. G. S. Ghurye has brought forward the details of this situation and its variants in his study *The Scheduled Tribe*, Popular Book Depot, Bombay 1959. See chapters II and III on 'Assimilational stresses and strains' pp. 23-70 and chapter VII on 'Appraisal' pp. 175-210.

To my mind, the symbiotic drives of the Brahmin and Brahmanical Hindus in general when they spend themselves out generally settle down to a sense of masochistic craving for union with God; and since India is specially rich in her cultural heritage in this matter, groups also come into existence too soon to give a shape and form to this sort of aspira-

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*"Asceticism as a religious duty pertains only to old age. And among the sadhus that one comes across, whether inmates of monastic centres or wandering ones there are hardly any who have joined in the order in the fourth stage of life". See *Indian Sadhus* by Dr. G. S. Ghurye, Popular Book Depot, Bombay 1953, p. 252.

tion among numerous members of any caste or community*. To consider it as typically the Indian way or the Hindu way of life, is to my mind, writing it a great deal in favour of the abnormal Indian way. The paradox of Indian cultural situation today is that this typology of adaptation of the psychopathic Hindu mind is glorified in terms of the immortal teachings of the sages and Rishis of India and appended on to a spirited cultural dynamism. This kind of value-orientation is now the fashion of the day. Basically speaking, it is the combination of ethnocentrism and ethnoexpansionism that has brought about this value-orientation in Hindu society today. And in this the Brahmanical groups as well as the Brahmanically inclined groups other than Brahmins themselves, are increasingly playing a leading part. It has for example, become the fashion to punctuate political speeches with quotations from the *Vedas* or *Upanishads*, to write on the lives of mythological heroes and to attempt serious commentaries on Hindu scriptures or the neglected teachings of a noble bard or writer who lived in obscurity. In artistic matters as well as in political matters a heavy emphasis is explicitly laid on cultural revivalism of this kind that lead to the focussing of attention on the group that originally figured as prominent in a bygone cultural context. This nostalgia for the past heritage is an unmistakable sign of the cultural dynamism manifested by groups in Indian society today. This by itself is an abnormal characteristic and has to be looked into deeper. Paul Halmos writing on *'the ideology of privacy and reserve'* made certain valuable contributions that could be applied to the Indian situation. He stated that this ideology *"is a composite product of partly simultaneous, partly subsequent value-orientations which guide man in his social behaviour"*. He summarised the principal value-orientation of the ideology of privacy and reserve as follows:

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* For an interesting study of this point in relation to mysticism and eroticism, see *The Chaitanya Movement, A Study of the Vaishnavism of Bengal* by Melville T. Kennedy, Oxford, 1925. A valuable study for the parallels it draws with Christian mysticism. Referring to *the Radha-Krishna cult* Kennedy draws attention to an important contradiction inherent in Indian social life. "The cult offers to the worshipper as the most sublime symbolism that which is admittedly in contravention of the dearest ideals of the Hindu home. No Hindu could for an instant tolerate the actions of Radha in his own household or desire for his daughter the hand of an young man patterned upon the Krishna of the puranas. *Thus the symbolism of religion and the most sacred objects of devotion are in perpetual conflict with the ideas of social order and moral integrity.* How it may well be asked can religion so conceived and expressed be a living spring? The answer is written plain in the history of the sects". P. 256. In my view this conflict in religious symbolism and the sacred objects of devotion has been increasingly rendering the intelligent Indian atheistic. The revival of Sanskritic studies will have this indirect effect of making the educated Indians themselves question the rationale of their religion and its symbolism so largely diffused through the medium of Sanskrit by the Brahmin cultural conqueror. Where there is no Brahmin priest to guide the temple worshipper and where the symbolism of Hindu religion is not explained or understood by the Indian community. they are easily persuaded to accept other secular religions e.g. Christianity. I have noticed this clearly in the Reunion Island in 1954. This is true of the backward and scheduled castes of South India also who had formerly embraced or been converted to Christianity.

> (i) "Christian-ascetic retirement coupled with a salvationist preoccupation with the self;
>
> (ii) Secular-individualistic autarchy and self-sufficiency aggravated by competition;
>
> (iii) Selectiveness and reserve as a protection of status on the basis of hereditary privilege, wealth, income and so on;
>
> (iv) Selectiveness and reserve as a protection of status and prestige on the basis of intellectual fastidiousness;
>
> (v) Intrafamilial insularity and nepotistic family egoism as a form of defence in a hostile world and as a method of transcendance in a desocialised community".*

Translated in terms of the Indian context these value-orientations assume special meaning and significance in relation to the everyday phenomena. This is done on the firm reasoning that there is nothing distinctive in the Indian way of life and that the pathology of Indian social and political institutions are very much amenable to sociological analysis in the same manner as their counterparts in any other society, Eastern or Western. We may, therefore, proceed to evaluate the findings of Halmos in relation to Indian conditions in broad outlines only *ad-seriatim*:—

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* See Dr. P. Halmos in *Solitude and Privacy—A Study in Social Isolation, Its Causes and Therapy*, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1952.

(a) The predisposition of the Hindu mind to renunciation is perhaps inculcated by age old philosophical teachings as well as strengthened by the primitive levels at which production techniques have been operated on the economic plane. It is also perhaps to a great extent bio-genic in the sense of being the resultant of biological factors reinforced by debilitating climatic conditions. The stress on the merging of the individual self with the cosmic self is masochistic particularly in its overt religious emphasis. Nevertheless, the ontogenic quality of this spiritual aspiration in somewhat of a mystery especially in its typically Indian emphasis. *Karma, kismat* and all the rest are covered up in the weltanschauung of the Indian in a manner that leaves scope for psychiatric analysis. The Brahmin Priest of the Hindu temple is seldom an ardent devotee of the god or godling to whom he ministers. He is far too intelligent to submit himself to idolatry as in terms of his own training he is himself part of the God. There are quite a few revealing quips and sayings about this in the various languages of South India that are clearly of non-Brahmin coinage. In a sense these are indicative of the extraordinary tolerance shown towards the Brahmin by the dravidian communities above the tribal levels of culture at a time when there were no serious class conflicts or struggle for economic privileges such as those prevailing in South India today. It is therefore in the phylogenic aspect that social control comes up and the group as a whole stresses on its general value-orientation with an ethnoexpansionistic spirit. This writer ventures to state that if a statistical evaluation is made of the caste-affiliations of India's *Yogis* and *Sanyasis* the majority would be found to be belonging not to the Brahmin caste but from lower castes.* This is so not merely due to the fewness in numbers of the Brahmins everywhere but due to their comparatively less ardent predisposition towards asceticism or salvation of the soul. For the present, the Brahmin is more concerned with the more material aspects of life as is testified to by his diverse social roles.

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* For the sources of recruitment of sadhus and sadhvis see *Indian Sadhus* by Dr. G. S. Ghurye, Popular Book Depot, Bombay, 1953, p. 252.

(b) Indians, particularly Hindus, residing in larger cities are prone to the acceptance of the ideology of privacy and reserve rather than those permanently settled in the villages. At the *gemeinschaft* level the Hindu's value-orientation in the direction of ascetic retirement does not take a concrete shape for certain specific reasons. The Hindu villager is caught up in isolated groups of villages and in the larger scheme of social control operated by a central Brahmin group within the village or nearby town. Secondly, he lacks the knowledge of methodology of spiritual training or realisation and is ignorant of the Hindu scriptures except the stories of the two main epics the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata*. One does not hear the exegesis of the *Bhagavadgita* in Indian villages as this devotional song is the essence of Hindu methodology of spiritual realisation that the average man does not know. But on the contrary, in the larger commercialised cities like Bombay and Calcutta the *gesselschaft* depersonalises society and renders the intrinsic villager in the Indian citizen timid towards outer society. The anomic strains of Indian social life again operate adversely on the Hindu mind in a manner that increasingly drives him to isolation and makes him think in terms of ascetic retirement. The exigencies of a religious life that require him to visit holy places for pilgrimage and the excessive stress on this laid by the Indian womanhood are two factors that drive the Hindu to acquire this value-orientation. Similarly, the excessive preoccupation with commerce and money-making among certain classes and communities, the association of profit-making, black-marketing and adulteration of foodstuffs and other strange practices with the inevitable guilt-complex often drive the Hindu businessman towards seeking social isolation and privacy.*

* "Even in the Vedic days, when we all know the people lived a much more self-controlled life of honesty and goodness, the *Srutis* were insisting with extra-emphasis upon the need and importance of living a life of perfect self-control for every seeker. And, our poor

In large cities such as Madras, Bombay, Calcutta and Delhi, therefore, a great slice of the people who seek to frequent *Ashrams,* pilgrimage-centres and also to finance the maintenance of *Swamis* and their *Mutts* are Hindu businessmen. Even so, there is a marked distinction within this group itself between persons who are relatively prone towards social isolation and those who are intrinsically so, and yet a third category of persons who have solely a mimetic urge and nothing better. With wealth come the craving for status and with status come the attributes of munificence for charitable purposes to earn social prestige. With the partition of India and the arrival of millions of Hindu refugees from Sind these tendencies have been aggravated. A study of a cross-section of the Sindhi communities done by the present writer revealed that a great number of them after their successful rehabilitation have been drawn towards the ideology of isolation and reserve and have thus not recovered from the serious traumatic experience caused by the status-degradation and loss of wealth and of relatives that the partition of India and the transfer of population had involved. This situation by itself requires more detailed social research.

(c) Indian history and literature are replete with instances of royal personages and chieftains who after leading a strenuous military life had begun to disdain the life of conquest and pleasure as such and had retired to the forests for contemplation and spiritual quest. These royal personages, starting from Gautama the Buddha, have contributed to the enrichment of India's cultural heritage. In many instances, they have been founders of religious movements, poets of repute and have been instrumental in restoring the spiritual

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seekers, living the broad way-life of market dishonesties, black-marketing creeds and corruptions of every kind—if they do some minutes of *Japa* etc., how can they come to enjoy the blessings of Absolute—perfection? All this *kirtans* and *bhajans, japa* and *tapa,* temple-going, and Brahmin-feeding are waste of time and money, if the devotee is not prepared to keep his mind always under control and thus ultimately come to control in slow degrees the mad onrush of the sense organs!"

See *Discourses on Kathopanishad* by Swami Chinmayananda, Madras edition, 1927.

values to society that they themselves may have neglected during earlier years or in re-establishing the normal life after internecine warfare or foreign invasions. It is characteristic of Indian cultural life that when the *Swamis* and *Gurus* derive their lineage from royal families they are endowed in the popular mind with a great deal of reverence. Not a few religious institutions in India today derive wealth and prestige through the patronage extended to them by royal families so that the value-orientations resulting thereby come to assume a character that is typically Indian. It is perhaps also true to surmise that the example of the lives of royal persons preferring ascetic retirement has been copied by the Indian Society in its various strata through *a process of mimesis.*

(d) Intellectual fastidiousness is a common feature in India of religious *pandits* and *purohits,* not to speak of the Western-educated cultural elite of cosmopolitan cities. Social isolation of such persons voluntarily in the form of exclusive clubs and groups are well-known. The basic motive behind these is to protect their status and prestige and at the same time retain their intellectual fastidiousness. The Arobindu Ashram in Pondicherry, the Sewagram at Wardha, Santiniketan of Tagore and host of other small examples have had originally this underlying desire in the minds of their founders who had in many cases lived to fulfil this desire in later years. What is interesting, therefore, in the Indian context is to see that all such efforts came to assume a cultural complex and have effectively contributed to the cultural dynamism of Hindu groups within India.

(e) Intra-familial insularity and spiritual egoism are fostered in the Hindu religion by a subtle device called the system of *"Ishtadevatas"*, i.e. gods that are preferred over others. In the general cosmological context, these gods are merely considered as various aspects of the supreme manifestation and are in essence the products of a *"pseudo morphosis"*. However, in the familism of rural and urban societies, this device offers scope for retaining an intra-familial insularity in the worship of any particular god or godling such as for example, *Sastha* or *Subramaniya, Ganesha* or *Shiva* or *Vishnu* or *Saraswati* with their various epithets. At the lower levels of tribal organisation and in the upper layers of the civilized urban community alike, this preference for particular Gods or Saints or *Pirs* continue. It is perhaps the outcome of the synthesis that took place of the personal religion with institutionalized worship under the leadership of the Brahmin priests that this situation arose. For the discerning observer, it would be interesting to see how the ardent worshippers within a Hindu temple frequent particular deities, their *Ishtadevatas* and make special offerings and adopt distinct worship modes. In the houses too their icons are kept and worshipped. Indian films in the various vernacular languages invariably stress on this aspect of home life and to that extent the portrayal of Indian home scenes is true to the reality. This is particularly true of films in South India especially in Tamil and this stress on mythological themes should, in my view, be regarded as a sidelight of the cultural dynamism generated by the Brahmins through a potent mass communication medium.

The basis of religious worship within the family everywhere in India thus continues to bear the egotistic characteristic of choosing a male or female deity for the family and its members and propitiating him/her with special offerings and prayers. Insularity is thus fostered within the family scheme of things and supply the spiritual substance to its members. The cultural dynamism generated by leading classes and groups within the country has therefore to be analysed at the family-level and traced to its roots. The ideology of social isolation, renunciation and reserve are thus born in a social-cultural situation in India. This reaction-patterns are not the idiosyncratic aberrations of anyone individual or groups of individuals. Nevertheless, the abnormal element in this phenomenon cannot be lost sight of, as in their total essence it represents a certain social trend of abnormality and maladjustment. Of this enough has been said earlier. The element of abnormality is in the personal devotion of the individual towards his god, a relation of clinging helplessness that he rationalizes and often reaches to a neurotic reaction-pattern. The individual develops a defence mechanism of his own out of several rationalizations which he fits into his *weltanschauung*. The private ideology of the Brahmin for example is nothing but a collective rationalization. This is also to my mind the essence of Hindu character and outlook. From the psychiatric angle, therefore, there are deeper implications. We may put this in the words of Halmos as follows:

> "What is then the relationship between the comparatively lasting value-systems of cultures, i.e. 'the total conceptions' of ideology and the individual's defence mechanisms, i.e. the particular conceptions of ideology? Perhaps one may come nearer to the solution of this problem by asking the following two questions: viz. (1) In the incidence of rationalization in a community the function of total ideological saturation of that community? or (2) Is the total ideological bias of the community's culture a cumulative outcome of all individual rationalisation?"

In the Indian context these are the very questions to be put also. If the social control dimension of the Brahmin's personality is the result of an impenitent rationalization, then there is reason to suspect that it is the outcome of the saturation of the Brahmin caste—groups with value-orientations in that direction. The Vedic Brahmins had not known any caste system but had certainly been saturated with the value-orientations of the prevedic society. Through successive stages of the evolution of Indian Society, there has been this interaction of the cultural ideology of the community with that of individual rationalizations and wherever the cultural ideology had been rendered impuissant or innocuous through outside influences the individual rationalizations had normally reasserted themselves in selected *milieux* and supplied the substance to Hindu (Brahmanical) social action.* The earlier chapter on peninsular Hinduism may be referred to in this context. Religious changes of the far-reaching kind had overtaken the Brahmanical groups in India at various epochs of history when the value-orientations had been changed for the better or for the worse. And yet when the strength of that religious force and its ideology got diluted through the passage of time or through reasons such as the death of religious leaders or some other similar cataclysmic circumstance the individual Brahmin's rationalizations have reappeared with nascent and creative vigour again to spread his own ideology. In modern times this is clearly seen in the social roles of the Brahmin. I have already outlined these roles under three major heads viz. *Bureaucrat, Teacher cum Cultural hero* and *Socialist.* In each of these roles the assertion of the Brahmanical mind is in the direction of reinforcing his cultural ideology and that in my view, is the cumulative reason for the cultural dynamism that Indian society shows today in various fields.* The structuration of Brahmanical groups all over the places where there is scope for reviving their ideology and cultural patterns is a concrete reality. But it is regrettably in their ethnocentric and ethnoexpansionistic affirmation that it provokes antagonism and class-hatred.

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* This again brings us to the functionalist viewpoint of Karl Manneheim quoted by W. Stark. "To the extent that an epoch is already terminated, to the extent that it presents itself as a completed *Gestalt,* we can specify the functional role of thought patterns relative to the goal at which the evolutionary process has been aiming". See *Sociology of Knowledge,* p. 262.

A cultural dynamism based on the socio-cultural egos of a group of individuals cannot outlast their life-time in any region of India or at best the period that they retain political authority based on their pristine charismatic authority.† It

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* Dialectical materialism takes a different stand. According to Engels: 'Ideology is a process which of course is carried on with a false consciousness. The real driving force which moves it remains unconscious, otherwise it would not be ideological process. It imaginatively creates for itself false or apparent driving forces." In regard to the Indian Brahmin 'false consciousness' is both subjective as well as objective. Both have combined teleologically to develop in the direction of the present cultural dynamism. And to that extent, the Brahmin has been attempting what Karl Marx had called the *'Self-alienation of man'* or the alienation from social and objective realities.

† Prof. Paul Ricoeur commenting on the contribution of Max Weber on charismatic authority makes the following pertinent observations:

"Ainsi le pouvoir charismatique de l'homme d'Etat est solidaire de la montée des hommes politiques professionnels; ces descendents du clerc médiéval, canoniste ou legiste, du conseiller humaniste des Princes de la Renaissance, des nobles et des bourgeois des cours monarchiques, de l'avocat de la Revolution, sont ajourd' hui les oligarches qui contrôlent les "machines" des grands partis; ils ont taillé leur puissance

is to the credit of the Indian Brahmin, however, that over the long centuries of India's history wherever he had an active role to play he had sought to integrate his sociocultural ego to the superconscious and had maintained that ideal. But the role of the Brahmin as the cultural agent requires a radical transformation today. The following words of Pitrim Sorokin have the prophetic ring about them and require to be heeded by all Indians, particularly the members of our creative minority.

"Every individual can serve the same purpose as a cultural agent and socius through the responsible performance of his cultural and social functions. As a parent one can produce a vast number of harmful effects according to the nature of the care of one's children and the management of the family. As an artist, composer, painter, poet, writer, journalist, teacher, preacher and politician, one can produce vulgarizing trash, debasing plays or novels, demoralizing sermons, unjust legislation and the like, or one can create real values generating incalculable positive effect, mental, moral and social. As a scientist or inventor one can discover or invent either constructive or destructive forces. The same malevolent possibilities apply to the role of philosopher or priest, businessman or labourer, farmer or mechanic, clerk or public official. The same individual in performing his social roles, may serve either the God of creation and love or the Mammon of Enmity and selfishness. None of our

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aux dépens des notables et meme des parlementaires; avec Ostrogorski, Max Weber est convaincue, que l'institution des 'machines', loin de rendre la politique plus anonyme, plus technique, va dans le sens de la democratie plébicitaire: d'un côté en effet, la passivité de la masse électorale, accentuée par la distinction entre les simples electeurs et, ceux qui font de la politique, prepare le lit de la parole demagogique des "chefs"; d'autre part les politiciens actifs, militants et permanents des partis, font le meilleur usage de la machine lorsqu'ils peuvent la mettre au service d'un 'chef' qui les repaiera en postes et en honneurs, Le Pouvoir charismatique est ainsi devenu solidaire du style plébiscitaire des grands partis modernes, le'chef' entrainant la masse par l'intermédiaire des 'machines'.

See aul Ricoeur on 'Ethique et politique' in *Esprit*, Nouvelle Serie, February 1959, Paris.

actions are lost; each has its constructive or destructive consequences! The total fabric of a given culture is woven of millions of trifling individual deeds. If each of us imbued with a deep sense of responsibility, "watches his step" avoiding the selfish abuse of his functions, most of our social problems can be easily solved and most catastrophes prevented. On the other hand, without effortful self-education in altruism on the part of every individual, no social transformation is possible".*

Thus, we may conclude that what is required of us as modern Indians is systemtic self-observation and the study of the current trends of our national culture.

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* See Pitrim Sorokin in *The Reconstruction of Humanity*, Indian edition, Bombay, 1957.

NOTES

1. For an interesting study see *From Max Weber, Essays in Sociology*, edited by Gerth & Mills, London, 1947. Chapter XVI India: The Brahmin and the Castes, pp. 396-415.
2. See Dictionary of Sanskrit by Sir Monier Williams. Also H. Zimmer in the Philosophies of India. Also see S. A. Dange *in India, From Primitive Communism to Slavery*, Bombay, 1951, pp. 56-57.
3. F. Nietzche in 'Beyond Good and Evil' 1886 quoted by Alex Aronson in *Europe Looks At India*, Bombay, 1945.
4. Dr. Srinivas in *Religion And Society Among The Coorgs Of South India*, Oxford, 1952. See pp. 213-214.
5. See Dr. K. M. Panikkar in *Geographical Factors In Indian History*, pp. 73-75.
6. See Oldham in *The Sun And The Serpent* pp. 151-161. Also quoted by Dr. Ambedkar in *The Untouchables, Who Were They and Why They Became Untouchables?*, New Delhi. 1948, p. 53. For a different view based on Tamil classses see S.S. Bharati *Systems of Succession in the Chera Kingdom* Madurai, 1928.
7. E. M. S. Nambudripad *The National Question of Kerala*, Bombay, 1952. pp. 11-12.
8. R. T. Lapiere in *A Theory of Social Control*, New York, 1954. p. 493.
9. Ibid. p. 497.
10. Ibid. p. 498.
11. See Prof. K. Mammen in *Kerala Culture*, Trivandrum, 1942.
12. This refers to the polynesian communities who immigrated to South India: loc. cit. 5. May also refer to the immigration of Ilavas from Ceylon. See 27. This requires detailed research and analytical study.
13. E. Thurston: *Castes and Tribes of South India*, Madras, 1909. Vol. VII, p. 377. For evidence of alliances with the Nayars see pp. 241-246. Also C. Achuyta Menon in Cochin State Manual 1913, p. 349, Malayalam edition.
14. Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of South India*, Vol. I, Madras, 1909. pp. 28-31.
15. It is probably more logical to consider this as the cumulative result of many liberal social tendencies which no longer continue to be strong in the local situation of Kerala towns and villages.
16. R. T. Lapiere. p. 498 loc. cit. 8.
17. Loc. cit. 14. For Nambudiris see Thurston Vol. V pp. 152-241.

For Nayars and Sub-castes, see pp. 283-413.

18. Loc. cit. Also *The National Question of Kerala* pp. 39-43.
19. See E. M. S. Nambudripad *The National Question in Kerala*, pp. 11-14. See also Radhakamal Mukherjee *Man and His Habitation*, Lucknow, 1940, p. 36.
20. Ref. Travancore and Cochin State Manuals.

    "The better class of Malabar Christians of the present day trace their discent from the Palur Brahmins converted by the apostle St. Thomas. Four families namely Kalli, Kaliankavu, Sankarapuri and Pakalomathan were the most important among the palur community and sacerdotal classes in Malabar were drawn from these families from the time of the Apostle till the arrival of the Portuguese".

    See *Christians and Christianity in India and Pakistan* by P. Thomas. p. 15, George Allen and Unwin, London 1954. This book, however gives no detailed references to conversions of Hindus including Brahmins by force as for example in Goa by the Portuguese. These observations are not meant to be derogatory in any sense. This only shows that this great and vigorous community and its life require detailed study by Christian scholars themselves.
21. For interesting details, loc. cit. 17.
22. R. T. Lapiere, p. 510, loc cit. 8.
23. For a Marxist analysis see E. M. S. Nambudripad, loc. cit. 18.
24. Prof. Arthur. W. Lewis in *A Theory of Economic Growth*, London, 1955, p. 84.
25. This is mainly due to the rapid socio-economic changes that took place in Kerala covering all sectors of society.
26. For example Izhavas were not admitted to the privilege of managing temples and temple property in Travancore State. This has been relaxed after the temple entry proclamation and particularly after the war. For an interesting theory that Buddhist Nayars became Izhavas after the revival of Brahmanism in Kerala see Dr. P. C. Alexander *Buddhism in Kerala*, pp. 134-135.
27. Ref. Travancore State Manual. For Thiyans, see Cochin State Manual. Also Thurston.
28. Loc. cit. 24, p. 118.
29. Ibid. p. 188.
30. See *The National Question in Kerala*, pp. 111-112. For the opposite view stressing on the importance of the matrilineal family see *Mother right in India* by Dr. U. R. Ehrenfels. Also his article "Ancient South India and her cultural contacts" in the Journal of Annamalai University, Vol. XVIII, June, 1952.
31. The Christian Churches in Malabar, Travancore and Cochin

have in fact joined together for special purposes since the advent of Indian independence.

32. Ref. *History of Malayalam Literature* by T. K. Joseph. *Heritage of India* series. Oxford University Press, Calcutta. For interesting comments see Dr. P. C. Alexander *Buddhism in Kerala,* Annamalai University series.
33. It is worth recalling that Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer then Dewan of Travancore had to leave in disgrace in July, 1947 which marked the end of the Brahmanical ascendancy in that state. His great contributions to the economic development of the state, however, require a new reappraisal.
34. Eric Fromm. *The Fear of Freedom*, London, 1943, p. 243.
35. See Ambedkar *'The Untouchables, Who Were They and Why They Became Untouchables?,'* New Delhi, 1946—Preface.
36. See Thurston, 'Castes and Tribes'—Maravas and similar other tribes. Also gazeteer of Mysore. "If a Brahmin enters the quarters of the Holeyas they turn out in a body and slipper him, in former times it is said to death, while a party of Brahmins who passed through a parayan hamlet had to run to escape cowpats and broomsticks, because contact with them meant ruin to the parayans. (Hutton in *Caste in India,* p. 187). "When a Balahi sees a Brahmin in the morning before anything else he believes that he will get nothing to eat for the whole day. On such a day he will undertake nothing important in the conviction that it would be a failure. The Balahis call the Brahmins hatyar-blood sucker". Stepher Fucks on omens and forebodings of Balahies in *The Children of the Hari,* New York, 1951, p. 266.
37. Ambedkar, loc. cit. 35, p. 63.
38. Ibid. p. 68. *Gotram* and *Kul* are Sanskrit words. For the totemistic organisation of a typical South Indian village e.g. "Maravas". See Thurston *Castes and Tribes of South India.* K. M. Panikkar takes a different view and regards the sub-castes as the basis of the Hindu social organization from the earliest times "It is essentially a Social growth, the result of the anarchy of Hindu Social Life". See *Hindu Society at Cross Roads,* p. 17.
39. Ibid. p. 38.
40. Ibid. p. 1949. For an interesting study of this aspect in local and regional Hinduism as exemplified in Kerala and Tamilnad see Dr. P. C. Alexander's *Buddhism In Kerala,* Annamalai, 1949. Chap. XI on the decline of Buddhism in Kerala pp. 172-185.
41. Ibid. p. 117, loc. cit. 25.
42. Brahmin scholars with intellectual honesty have openly admitted the real reasons. Here is an example. Mahamahopadhya Harprasad Sastri gives the following reasons:—(a)

Ashoka stopped animal sacrifices throughout his empire and thus offended the Brahmin Group. (b) He reduced the Brahminas who were the Bhudevas (Gods on earth) into false gods. (c) The appointment of Dharamahamatras interfered directly with the influence and prestige of the Brahmanas. (d) His conception of Dandsamta (equality before law) was a direct affront to the Brahmanas, (e) the Brahmanas brought about a complete revulsion for the Mauryas. (Quoted by Dr. B. G. Gokhale in *The Story of Ancient India*, Baroda, 1947).

43. The disappearance of Buddhism as a living religious force within India is very much regretted now. Perhaps that explains why there is a systematic effort to revive it in every way.
44. "The Buddhists are generally described as atheistic. It is true that they do not rely upon a personal God; but in their later developments there emerges the concept of Prajaparamitta i.e. the shakti of the Buddha". See C. P. Ramaswami Iyer 'Philosophy—East and West', Journal of the University of Annamalai pp. 6-12, Silver Jubilee Vol., Feb. 1955.
45. "The great tide of vigour that emanated from Shankaracharya swept round India by South, West and North in a spiral curve, Ramanuja, Madhavacharya, Ramdas and Tukaram, the Sikh Gurus and Gauranga were all in turn its products. Wherever it touched the Muslim consciousness, it created chiefly by means of contest, a well centered nation. Where it did not come in contact with Mohammedanism, as in the extreme South, the spiritual energy did not succeed in evoking a nationality. And where it did not lead to definite fighting as in Bengal under Chaitanya the sense of national existence remained more or less potential. Thus the advent of Islam into India cannot be regarded as a revolutionary invasion, inasmuch as under the new power there was not loss of Asiatic modes". Sister Nivedita in *The Web of Indian life.* Also quoted in *Indian Inheritance*, p. 204.
46. Prof. F. Creedy in *Human Nature, Writ Large*, London, 1939, p. 105.
47. There are many examples to this attitude. However, as they involve partisan views they are not given in detail here.
48. Lapiere, in *A Theory of Social Control*, New York, 1954, p. 485.
49. "The service which a small priestly class rendered to a whole people at the time of the destruction of their political power is paralleled only by the action of the Jewish rabbies when the temple was destroyed and the Jews dispersed by the Romans. At the time when the Jewish people sank into despair, a group of learned men under Johanan ben Zakkai established the great academy at Jabneh in the heart of Roman palestine itself and guarded zealously the doctrine of Judaism. It sent its

messages to the Jewish people dispersed all over the world and thus saved Judaism for the future. That is what the Brahmins did in the 13th and 14th centuries in the Gangetic valley". K. M. Panikker in *Hindu Society at Cross Roads*, pp. 81-82.

50. The greatness of Sankara specifically lies in this that he was tolerant towards the masses who did not understand his metaphysics. Popular Hinduism was greatly strengthened by his devotional songs (kirtans) and emphasis on Bhakti. Secondly as Panikker points out Sankara by his fight against the Mimamsakas broke down the barriers between Buddhist deity and Hinduism. In fact Buddhism and Hinduism became indistinguishable. Buddhist temples like the famous Jagannath temple of Puri became Hindu temples and with the laity accepting Hinduism, recruitment to the monasteries became more and more difficult. See *A Survey of Indian History*, p. 102.
51. F. Creedy, Same as 46, p. 134.
52. Ibid. Page 141.
53. Ibid. Page 107.
54. For an interesting exposition see Zimmer *Myths and Symbols in Indian Art and Civilization*, Bollingen series. New York, 1945.
55. F. Creedy, loc. cit. 46, p. 31.
56. See Hutton in *Caste in India* Bombay, 1951. Chapter on Hinduism and Primitive Religions.
    Also Dr. S. K. Chatterji on "Race movements and prehistoric culture" in *The Vedic Age* edited by Dr. R. C. Majumdar. London. 1951. This study is valuable for the succinct account it gives of the influence of the Austric speaking proto-autraloid people on Indian culture.
57. P. T. Srinivas Iyengar *Pre-Aryan Tamil Culture*, Madras University 1930, Page 20.
58. S. S. Bharati. *'The Age of Tholkappiyam'* in the Journal of the Annamalai University. Vol. VI No. 2. pp. 134-135.
59. Dr. Srinivas in *Religion and Society among the Coorgs*, Oxford, 1952, p. 225.
60. Maxweber *Essays in Sociology*, London, 1947, p. 397.
61. Vedanayagom Pillai, *The Ancient Tamils and Total Abstinence* p. 11.
62. Maxweber. loc. cit. 60. p. 405.
63. For an interesting analysis of the different views on the origin of Vellalas. See Vedanayagom Pillai. pp. 10-15. Also Thurston *Castes and Tribes of South India*, Madras 1909.
64. See Vedanayagom Pillai. p. 11.
65. Srinivas Iyengar, P. T. in *Pre-Aryan Tamil Culture*, p. 20.
66. Bharati, S. S., (Dr.) in "The Age of Tholkappiam" in the Journal of the Annamalai University, Vol. VI, No. 2.

67. Bharati, S. S., Dr. in 'Agathian and Tamil Literature.' The Journal of Annamalai University, Vol. IV, No. 1. Also see *Agastya in the Tamil Land* by K. N. Sivaraya Pillai. University of Madras Publications.
68. Srinivas, loc. cit. 59, p. 216.
69. Vedanayagom Pillai, pp. 18-19. loc. cit. 61.
70. This is best studied in South India where the practices such as "Kavidieduthal", "Therthiruvizha" etc. for the propitiation of Muruga deity are still continued with great devotion.
71. F. Creedy, p. 149. loc. cit. 46.
72. Thus the Malayalis learned their fine arts mostly from the Nambudiris who posessed tantric knowledge.
73. Pandit Onkarnath Thakur in "The Evolution of Indian Music" speaks of Karmakandi Brahmanas who were professional singers. See the Journal of Annamalai University, Feb. 1955.
    For the role of the Brahmin in building a house, see "Manusyalayacandrika" an English translation with critical note by K. R. Pisharoti and T. B. Nayar, The Journal of the Annamalai University, Vol. IV.
74. For an excellent study see 'Kerala Theatre' by Prof K. R. Pisharoti, the Journal of the Annamalai University, Vol. I, No. 1. pp. 91-113. Also Vol. III, No. 2, October, 1934.
75. Maxweber *Essays in Sociology* p. 269.
76. This was also reflected in the adoption of certain caste practices by untouchables as for instance in the copying of the 'Namam' sign by Panchamas even though it did not confer on them any higher status in the caste hierarchy.
77. Swami Ramananda (1400-1447) lived in Kashi and influenced Kabir during his childhood. While Ramananda did not categorically speak against rituals, Kabir was outspokenly against idol worship, rituals, pilgrimages, asceticism and the caste system. The learned Brahmin pandit and the simple tiller of the soil were equal in his eyes. Bhakti cult was thus in essence against institutionalized form of Hinduism dominated by the Brahmins. However it was in no way different from the pure Advaita School of Vedic thought in as much it postulated the worship of the self-conditioned aspect of the attributeless God.
78. Bouquet, A. C., in *Comparative Religion*. London. 1945. p. 113.
79. Dr. S. S. Bharati. '*Tiruvalluvar*' (Brochure) Madurai, 1929: This view is widely respected by all dispassionate Brahmin scholars. For a summary of other views see *The sacred Kural or the Tamil Veda of Thiruvalluvar* by H. A. Popley. The Heritage of India series. London 1931. For a readable translation of Kural see *First and Second books of Kural* by C. Rajagopalachari, Madras 1947.
80. This is true of the rise of Buddhism from among the Kshatriya

class and the subsequent revival of Brahmanism that we have already mentioned in Part II of this essay.

80(a) See Dr. G. S. Ghurye in *Caste and Class in India*, Bombay, 1950, p. 108.

The only exception to this was Sri Narayana Guru of Kerala (1855-1928) See *A Warrior Rishi,* The Life and Teachings of Narayana Guru, A short study by John Spiers, Head, Narayana Gurukula World Centre, Bangalore.

"He could not and did not divide humanity in any way, neither into caste groups in the ordinary sense, nor into the west coast tribal groups (e.g. Tiyas, Izhavas, Nairs, Nambudris etc.) nor into national groups (he approved of marriage between Eastern and Western followers) nor into religious folds (he moved) with Christians and Jews who were often harshly criticized by his 'Hindu' associates nor into rich and poor" p. 7.

Also *The word of the Guru* by Dr. P. Natarajan.

81. Witness for example the revival of Vaishnavism under Ramanuja in South India.

82. Representative opinions of the British in India on this point are too numerous to be quoted here. However, a typical view is cited. "A man born into a low caste or out of caste can secure no relief from this handicap, except by escape into another religion. A Brahmin scoundrel escaped with his sanctity and the noblest of sweepers remains throughout life hampered by the bonds placed on him at birth". See Prof. J. W. Gregory on 'Caste and Democracy' in the Rationalist Annual, 1932. Also see "India and democracy" by Sir George Schuster and Guy Wint, Dr. G. S. Ghurye on Caste and British rule in his book *Caste and Class in India,* Bombay, 1950.

83. See *Almanach du journal de, Saint Denis,* La Reunion, 1955.

84. Bharati, S. S. '*Place names in Pandinad*' in the Journal of the Madras Geographical Association. Vol. 7, No. 3. Also "*Cherar Perur*" in Tamil for a very interesting discussion on the origin of ancient Chera place names, Tuticorin 1917. For place names in Travancore. See Appendix to '*Kerala Culture*' by Prof. Mammen. Trivandrum—1942, gives further references.

85. Loc. cit. 84.

86. This was hardly a serious problem for the Brahmins in so far as important deities like Muruga and Mayon were concerned. This raising of the status of a popular deity automatically brought greater attention to it from the Brahmins themselves. Thus where there was only a small chapel or temple bigger temples of exquisite grandeur were built and ceremonies and rituals multiplied. And with this the absorption of the socially integrated communities within the fold of Brahmanical Hindu-

ism was completed. As against this, the village gods of the panchamas were neglected as the same process repeated would have correspondingly meant their elevation in the caste hierarchy which the Sudra communities themselves would have resented even though these latter were themselves worshippers of some of these deities. See in this connection *Village gods of South India* by H. Whitehead.

87. For example see the following observation by Mr. Francis I.C.S. "One reason why the Brahmins have been unable to impose their rites to any large extent upon the people of the Madurai district is the fact that large sections of the community regard it as in no way necessary that their marriages should be performed or their funerals attended by any kind of professional priest. The *Tali* is frequently tied, not by the priest but by the bridegroom's sister. Where custom requires that the priest should do it, this man very usually belongs to the caste himself and is rather a social than a religious leader. Thus the Brahmins have not got the opportunities of impressing their beliefs and rites upon the people which are in some districts afforded by the indispensability of their presence at domestic ceremonies". *Madras District Gazeteer.* Madurai, Vol. I, pp. 84-85. This is true of the Nayar society of Travancore today.

88. For an interesting analysis see article in *Tamil Culture,* Vol. IV, No. 1 January, 1955 by Dr. Xavier S. Thaninayagom.

89. See article on "Linguistic pre-history of India" by Prof. Murray B. Emaneau in *Tamil Culture,* Vol. V, No. 1, January 1956.

90. Lapiere in *A Theory of Social Control,* p. 260.
According to Werner Stark reification has worked as a '*distorting influence*' on human nature. "No wonder that the intellect, formed as it was in man's victorious war against his initial odds, should attempt to press every idea into the mental modes appropriate to the manipulation of an extended world of materiality, should tend to think of time in terms of space, of mental life and inter-psychic relationships in terms of things, and of history in terms of stability or at best a preordained progress towards man's complete world domination. Reification is thus an inherent pitfall of all thinking where the study of human and historical reality is concerned and must be resisted if we are to avoid the emergence of a false consciousness concerning these sectors of being."
See *Sociology of Knowledge,* London, 1958 pp. 314-315.

91. Ibid. p. 261.

92. Ref. 'A note on certain Tamil words' by K. Kanapathi Pillai, the Journal of the Annamalai University, Feb. 1955.

93. See article on 'The Sematic principle of expansion' by A. C.

Chettiar, the Journal of the Annamalai University, Vol. VI, No. 2, January, 1937.

94. Quoted by Ambedkar in *The Untouchables—Who were they?* etc. p. 56.

95. Ibid, pp. 55-56.

96. K. M. Panikker in *Geographical Factors in Indian History,* 1955.

97. Loc. cit. 83.

98. Dr. J. Filliozat on *Tamil and Sanskrit in South India* in *Tamil Culture,* Vol. IV, No. 4. Oct. 1955.

99. See article on Ritam in the Veda by A. B. Purani, the Journal of the Annamalai University, Feb. 1955.

100. Lapiere in *A Theory of Social Control* pp. 262-263.

101. "When we think of Shankara, with what do we mainly associate him? We associate him, with the great Bhashyas on the Brahmasutras and the Upanishads and the Bhagavadgita and various other commentaries which contain the most abstract analysis, the most meticulous and microscopic examination of the phenomena of matter and spirit, evil and good, duality utilising dry and passionless thought. And yet the same person was responsible for the Dakshinamurti Strotra, the Soundarya Lahiri, the Annanda Lahiri and the other clinging, fervid, passionate, strotras and for all those manifestations of the Divine in language as impassioned as lyrical, as full of rapture and personal devotion as the outpourings of the mystics of the Christian and Mohammadan religions and of our great men, like Tukaram, Kabir and those wandering generations of singers who even today are one of the glories and accompaniments on Northern Indian life". Dr. C. P. Ramaswamy Iyer in *Indian Inheritance.* Bombay, 1955, pp. 220-221.

102. F. Creedy in *Human nature writ large,* p. 40.

103. See article on Puranas by N. Chandrasekkara Iyer in *Indian Inheritance,* Bombay, 1955, p. 101.

104. Dr. J. Filliosat. loc. cit. 98.

105. Dr. Srinivas, *Religion and Society among the Coorgs,* p. 218. Also K. M. Panikker *Hindu Society at the Cross-Roads,* New Delhi, 1955.

106. For an interesting study on western influence in the Tamil language, see article by S. S. Bharati, in *Modern India and the West* edited by O'Malley, Oxford, 1941. pp. 408-505. Ibid for Telugu.

107. This situation is particularly noticeable among the converts from scheduled casts in South India.

108. Maxweber. *Essays in Sociology* pp. 396-397.

109. See *Creative Evolution* by Henri Bergson. "A drive is not, like an instinct unconscious; it is a tendency

of the will accompanied by an appropriate consciousness in a certain determinate direction and can become decisive not only for human action, but also — as this school asserts — for human thought. We have no suitable established world to label this particular dogma and suggest that it should be called the *hormic theory*. For the hormic theory, thoughts are the workings — out of some desire striving or conation native to man — either directly or indirectly resulting from the inhibition, the artificial thwarting, of the master and motor passion. The prime example that springs to mind is that Friedrich Nietzsche. The key to everything for him is the *will to power*. In the strong it shows itself in its natural form, nakedly, as it were, and produces the proudest of all human types, the warrior. In the weak on the other hand, who have no hope of attaining the power which they crave, it appears in a curiously denaturalized, even perverted shape and embodies itself in such figures as the wily demagogue or the wheedling person. It is they who captivate the masses — necessarily so, for the many can never be the shepherds and must always be sheep. In either case, for rulers and ruled alike, the ideas put forward and the feelings entertained stem from, and are explicable in the light of, the underlying native will." See W. Stark *Sociology of Knowledge*, p. 220.

110. See article on Horme in purposivistic psychology and karma in the Gita by P. S. Naidu, the Journal of the Annamalai University, Vol. VI, No. 2, Jan. 1937. See also his interesting book *Hormic Theory*, Allahabad, 1947.
111. Macdougall in *Introduction to Social Psychology*, p. 3.
112. For an interesting exposition of this point, see article on spiritual psychology of the practical methodology of Hindu realisation by Swami Sivananda. pp. 38-47. The Journal of the Annamalai University, Feb. 1955.
113. Hegel in *Philosophy of World History* 1822-23, quoted by Alex Aronson in *Europe looks at the East*, p. 23.
114. Instances are far too numerous to be given here.
115. Frederik Nietzche in *Beyond Good and Evil*, 1886, quoted by Alex Aronson, pp. 182-183. loc. cit. 113.
116. Prof. Jerome S. Bauer; Foreword to the Newman in *Soviet Psychology*, XXII.
117. Not much is known. The reader may, however, refer to the Section on 'Nadar' in Thurston *Castes and tribes of South* India and the *history of South Indian churches* and references to missionary activity in Travancore.
118. See Bauer, p. 144. "Personality is determined by inheritance, environment, training and self-training".
119. See Dr. Ambedkar in *What Congress and Gandhi have done*

to untouchables, Bombay, 1945.

120. Lapiere, pp. 288-289.
121. Ibid. p. 214.
122. Lapiere. p. 103.
123. See article on A South Indian in the North, by H. V. R. Iyengar, I.S.C., in *March of India,* Special Edition, 1954. A revealing piece of writing is "*An Indian in Western Europe*" by Justice Panchapakesa Iyer, I.C.S.—available in Malayalam also.
124. Lapiere, p. 105.
125. Maxweber—Essays, p. 405.
Also see in this connection the official reports of Mr. A. D. Gorwala and Prof. Appleby.
126. Max Weber on Bureaucracy, loc. sit. 125.
127. Eric Fromm in *Fear of freedom* p. 117.
128. Sardar K. M. Panikker in *Hindu Society at the Crossroads.*
129. See for a full report *Current,* Bombay.
130. Lapiere, p. 257.
131. There are far too many conflicting views about this vital point. The value of modern interpretations of the Bhagavadgita lies here. Dr. Radhakrishnan's works are most important to understand this point. They certainly convey more meaning to the intelligentsia than the works of Shri Rajagopalachari.
132. This is a deduction from the Brahmin's political activities in India since ancient times. The 'Artha Sastra' (circa 4th century B.C.) is a revealing document of the Brahmin political genius. The struggle of dynasties in India can be reinterpreted in terms of the wily Brahmin adviser's loyalty or disloyalty to the king or chieftain whom he served.
See *Indian polity* by K. P. Jayaswal.
Also *South Indian Polity* by T. V. Mahalingam, Madras University, 1955.
132-A. "Pride in Ones' nation, often involves an ethnocentric affirmation of the nations' peculiarities. This sense of superiority typically feeds on the notion of the exemplary significance of one's nation-state for other nations if not for the rest of the world. This sense may exist without any ambition to do more than propagate this prestigeful image". See Gerth and Mills in *Character and Social Structure,* p. 204.
133. For interesting observations on the Brahmanical influence in Indo-China, see Coedes in *Les etats Hinduisesd' Indo-Chine et Indonesie,* Paris, 1948. pp. 50-51. While there are numerous studies on the spread of Brahmanical Hinduism overseas, (mostly written by Brahmin scholars), there is none that stresses on the sociological aspect. See also *The Age of Imperial Kanauj,* Chap. XIV on 'Colonial and Cultural expansion' by Dr. R. C. Majumdar. Also Reginald Le May in *The*

Culture of South-East Asia, London, 1954. The recent studies of Prof. Nilkant Sastri are valuable additions.

134. See Lewis in *A Theory of Economic Growth,* pp. 48-49. Also p. 25.

135. This beautiful word coined by Aristotle means that it is the inner nature of anything which determines its development. Variations of this idea is contained in works of Oswald Spengler who uses the term *"Kulturseele"* or culture-soul and also Alfred Weber who held that "each culture has its own '*physiognomy*' which reflects and expresses a *spiritual entelechy* or *Seelische entelechie* as the face of man reflects and expresses his inmost being, spirit and his soul."
See W. Stark in '*Sociology of Knowledge*' page 225.

136. See *Men and Thought in Ancient India* by Dr. Radhakamal Mukherjee, London 1924. "According to Yuang Chuang India itself was known to foreigners as the country of the Brahmins".

137. J. G. Debeus in *The future of the West,* New York, 1953. p. 50.

138. Dr. A. R. Desai in *Introduction to Rural Sociology,* p. 45.

139. Ibid. p. 17.

140. Dr. P. N. Prabhu in *Hindu Social Organization,* Bombay, 1954, pp. 360-361.

141. Dr. Radhakamal Mukherjee—See Foreword to *The Depressed Classes, Their Economic and Social Condition,* Bombay, 1947 by Dr. Mohinder Singh.

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N.B. The list is not exhaustive. The choice of books has been made [illegible] in relation to the problems treated in this [illegible]

SUBJECT — INDEX

ABNORMALITY, 177
  and maladjustment, 202, 203, 204-205, 207, 222
ADJUSTMENT, 202-204, 205
  and maladjustment, 204, 206
ADVAITA PHILOSOPHY, 34 35-38
AMBIVALENCY
  —of the Brahmin's mind, 37, 99, 131, 133, 168
  —of non-Brahmin, 116, 168
ANTHROPOLOGY
  Cultural, 1-7, 149, 172
  Social, 1-7
  Research, 149
ANXIETY-NEUROSIS, 121, 202, 211
ASCETICISM, 93, 137, 141-142, 215
ASRAMA INSTITUTION, 39, 214-215
AUTHORITY
  Anonymous, 113, 114, 164, 165
  Charismatic, 117, 159-160, 224-225
  Bureaucratic, 179
  Authoritarian philosophy, 106
  Inhibition of, 118
AUTHORITARIANISM
  Definition, 112
  Ethnic differences in, 125, 131
  Among Negroes, 125-126
AUTISMS, 123, 201, 211
AUTOMATON - STIMULUS-RESPONSE-SYSTEM, 39-40, 41, 92, 116, 131

BHAKTI CULTS
  Significance of, 21, 55-58
BRAHMIN
  meaning of term—, 2, 147-148
  Vedic Brahmins—, 1
  Nambudri—, 8, 9-23, 171, 172
  Tamil—, 43-61, 206, 207, 213
  Malayali—, 8-23
  Authoritarianism—, 112, 125
  Roles of the Brahmin, 107-138, 167
  Economic Brahmin, 131
  Ethnocentrism of—, 9, 37, 158, 211
  —ethnoexpansionism of—, 9, 37, 158, 211
  Characterological prototypes—, 214
  and psychology, 87-89
  motivations of—, 170-71
  personality of—, 126, 147-150, 171, 203-204
  ritualism of, 2, 74-75, 121
  as intellectual, 87-89
  as supermen, 3, 90, 115, 162
  as priests, 102-105
  Symbiotic drives of—, 113, 115, 215
  Social identity of—, 6-7, 180, 198
  Secular state—, 100
  and beef-eating—, 31-32
BRAHMANISM
  medieval—, 1, 138
  and the British—, 80, 81
  and Buddhism—, 31, 41
  as cultural legacy—, 105, 167
  Revival of—, 34, 65, 110, 115, 143, 179-180
  Strategy, 43-66, 67, 86, 99, 100, 216
  Mythology, 14, 40, 134
  and Theism, 35, 37-38, 97
  and economic philosophy, 131, 136-137
BRAHMAVIDYA, 148
BROKENMEN, 29-30
BUDDHISM, 31-41
  and Brahmanism, 37-40

BUREAUCRACY
  cultural content in, 182-195
  and the Brahmin, 106, 107-125
  Typology of adaptation, 112-113, 161
  Dynamics of adjustment in, 121-125
  Use for social control, 100, 109, 115
  Status-groupings in—, 117
  Conformity in—, 112-113
  Ritualism in—, 112, 113, 121
  Retreatism in—, 112, 113
  Counter-control—, 87, 89, 101, 117, 174
  Halo-status in—, 118, 119

CASTE-SYSTEM, 4-46, 140-141, 188
  Caste-groupings in bureaucracy—, 109, 186, 189
  and social stratification, 14, 49, 95, 104
  present trends—, 138, 198, 212
  scheduled-castes, 27-28, 110, 186
  and values, 6, 166-167, 198
  categories of understanding, 201-202
CATHECTIVE ORIENTATION, 170
CEREMONIAL
  origins of—, 53-55
CHARACTEROLOGICAL PROTOTYPES, 214
CHARACTER, SOCIAL, 25
CHETTIS, CHETTIYAR, 5
  and Muruga—, 103
CHRISTIANITY
  —Christian Convert, 81, 82, 83, 83, 214
  —Personality of Christian, 95
  —Christian Scholars and Indian culture, 83
  —Max Weber on—, 82
  —and Sanskrit, 81, 82

COGNITIVE ORIENTATION, 171
COMMUNISM, 115, 205
  and Brahmins, 205
COMPLEMENTARITY
  of Expectations—, 123, 166-167
  and Caste, 166
CONQUEST
  definition, 2, 6
  ideological, 2
  cultural, 2, 16, 173
CONTROL-SOCIAL, 2, 6-7, 43-66, 90-91, 140, 198
  definition—, 1-2
  counter—, 87, 99, 101, 117, 150, 174
  theory—, 2, 7, 14, 140
  through Bureaucracy, 107-125
COSMOLOGY
  Hindu, 113
  Synthetic character of—, 50-52, 209-21
CREATIVITY, 167, 207, 212
  preconditions for
CROWD
  Compellers, 103-104
  exponents, 103-104
  representatives, 103-104
CULTURE
  culture-contact, 209
  cultural conquest, 10, 15, 173
  cultural fertilization, 14
  cultural system, 170, 175
  cultural dynamism, 204, 210-211, 213, 222
  Indian culture, 7, 113, 196
  cultural control, 151 (*See Social control*)
  Definition of, 183
  the role of law in—, 114
  complex culture, 182
CULTURAL CONQUEROR, 210, 211
  Brahmin, 80-81, 175
  British, 80-81
  Nambudri, 8-21, 154, 208

Syrian Christian, 15-16
and self-image, 61-62, 147-151, 173-174

DRAVIDA KAZHAKAM
origins of—, 149, 150, 151
DRAVIDA MUNNETRA KAZHAKAM, 149-150, 151

EDUCATIONAL THEORY, 131-132
ENTELECHY, 138, 212
EPISTEMOLOGY, 198
ETHNOCENTRISM, 37, 211
ETHNOEXPANSIONISM, 37, 158, 211

FUHRER—PRINZIP, 90
FUNCTIONAL ANALYSIS
Social function of Brahmins, 1, 168-169
Social function of religion, 1, 168-169
Of caste-system—, 198-199
Of Ashrama institution—, 214
Of sociological research, 141, 169, 173

GANDHI, MAHATMA, 95-96, 98
GANDHISM
As political ideology, 95-96
Sociological meaning of, 46, 108
Dialectical—, 98, 104, 133
Mechanistic—, 98
GEMEINSCHAFT, 133, 157, 219, 221
GESSELSCHAFT, 133, 157, 221
GROUPS (*See also Status*)
Primary—, 156-157, 173, 200
Secondary—, 156-157
Face-to-face—, 132, 173
Use of the typology, 112-113, 161
Brahmin groups, 101-103
Group-tensions, 79

HINDUISM
Local—, 4, 28, 72, 101, 151, 153-154
Peninsular—, 4, 24-42
Regional—, 24, 42, 151
All-India—, 58, 80, 136, 140, 171, 197
Sanskritic, 81, 135
Problems of—, 58-59, 91-92
HORMIC THEORY, 88, 208
HYPERGAMY, 14, 44
(*See also Nayars*)

IDEOLOGY, 115, 134, 205, 215, 223
(*See also Gandhism*)
INTUITION, 87-89
and intellect

LANGUAGE
Malayalam—, 23, 86
Tamil—, 69-70
Sanskrit—, 21, 57, 68, 71, 76, 81
English—, 79-80
Of feeling, 74
Reification of—, 67-68
Paishachi—, 69-70
Prakrit—, 71, 72, 76
and social control—, 67, 86, 167
and personality—, 84-86
and trigger phrases, 79
and symbolism, 79, 151, 209-210, 216
and Hindi, 77-78
and the Indian Christian, 81-82
and Persuasion—, 134, 136
and group tensions, 78-79

MACROSOCIOLOGY, 199-200
METAPHYSICS
Dualistic, 143

Metaphysical system, 34
Metaphysical substratum, 196
MICROSOCIOLOGY, 199-200
MIMESIS
Definition, 6, 138, 221
and Sanskritisation, 154, 221
Mimetic faculty of masses, 62-66
and behaviour-conformity, 39-40
MOBILITY of Castes (*See also Spread*)
horizontal, 99, 120, 140
vertical, 99
spatial, 177
MOTIVATION
Conscious and unconscious, 2, 89
Apostolic—, 3, 124, 167, 174, 208
Social motivations, 91
Cognitive motivation—, 170-171
Cathective orientation—, 170

NAYAR—Nair
Antiquity as tribe, 8
and Vellalas, 13
and polyandry, 14, 201
and Nambudris, 12-17, 154, 208
and Fragmentation of Society, 18
and Naidus, 20
and Izhavas, 21-22
and Syrian Xians, 22
and Adaptation of Brahmanical ideas, 23, 154
(*See also Hypergamy*)
NEHRU, JAWAHARLAL
—apostolic motivations of—, 3
—as culture hero, 40
—as crowd exponent, 103
—and Bureaucracy, 117, 131
NORM, 209-213
and abnorm, 210

OCCUPATIONAL GOAL-FORMATION in India, 176
(*See also Bureaucracy*)
OCCUPATIONAL IDEOLOGY
(See Bureaucracy)
Official Climber, 120
(See Bureaucracy)

PACIFISM, 31-32
PERSONALITY
in Soviet psychology—, 92-93, 123, 128, 149
integration of—, 123, 161
of non-brahmin, 101, 106, 149-150
and cultural personality of Brahmin—, 3, 147, 151, 170, 173-174
and Traumatic experience—, 99-100
social-stimulus value of—, 203-204
Definition of, 203-204
PERSUASION—(*See Social control*) psychological meaning of—, 134, 136
and compulsion, 135

RATIONALIZATION
—of educational theory, 131-138
—of superiority, 2-3
—of Gandhism, 98, 131
—of values, 133, 222, 214
—and ideology, 124, 223-214
REDDIS, 5, 25, 50
ROUTINIZATION OF CHARISMA, 159-160
(*See also Authority*)

SANSKRIT
meaning of—, 67
Reification of—, 67-68
and Panini, 68-69
and Christians—, 81-82
SANSKRITISATION
—of languages, 6, 67, 131
—and of westernisation, 154
—of rituals, 53-54, 169
—of Tamils classics, 77-78

—ethnoexpansionism—, 156
  vs. Brahminisation, 6, 156

SOCIAL ACTION
  and social dynamics, 209
  Structure of Hindu, 170-181
  Family in—, 175-176, 180
  Ineffectiveness of—, 98, 180
  Brahmins role in—, 170-181, 192

SOCIALISM, 132-133

SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY
  and social control, 1-2, 168, 213
  Social character, 25
  Social democracy, 50

SPREAD
  Cultural, 4, 153
  Hinduism, 4, 108, 153
  Sanskrit, 67-68, 69
  Horizontal, 4, 99, 120, 128
  Vertical, 4, 99, 101, 153
  Definition, 4

STATUS
  Status-groups, 47, 108, 117-121
  Status-grouping in bureaucracy, 109, 117
  and role, definitions, 152
  Status-anxiety, 91, 107, 202, 211
  transferability of status, 118
  halo-status, 118

STRATIFICATION, SOCIAL, 13, 44-50
  (*See also Castes*)

STRUCTURE—HINDU SOCIAL, 87, 162-163
  (*See also Social Action*)

STRUCTURATION
  Of Brahmins, in Bureaucracy, 107-125
  in urban society, 101-103
  Structural variability of situation, 144
  in rural society—, 86, 157, 219, 221

SYMBOLISM, 79, 151, 201, 210
  and conflict with morality, 216
  and neurosis, 86, 202

THERAPY, SOCIAL, 125, 212

UNTOUCHABILITY (*See also Gandhi, Mahatma*), 25-29

VARNA SYSTEM, 41-46, 140-141
  (*See also Castes*)

VEGETARIANISM, 32, 48, 49

VELLALAS, 5, 12, 26, 27
  (*See also Nayars*)

WELTANSCHAUUNG
  of Hindu, 93, 218, 222
  of bureaucrat, 184

INDEX OF AUTHORS

ALEXANDEROWICZ C. H., 114, 115

AMBEDKAR B. R.
  on Hinduism, 27
  on tribal organisation, 28
  on Brokenmen, 29
  on Buddhism, 31
  influence on bureaucracy, 186

ASAN KUMARAN, 21

ASIRVATHAM E., 83

AYYAPPAN Prof., 14

BAUER, GEROME S., 92

BERGSON, HENRI, 88

BHARATI S. S., 44, 51

CARSTAIRS G. M., 2

CATTEL, RAYMOND B., 100

CHATTERJEE S. K., 52

CHINMAYANANDA SWAMI, 219-220

CLYDE KLUCKHON, 41-42,148, 175

COOLEY C. H., 156
CREEDY F., 34, 36, 37-38
  On society, 39-40
  On language of feeling, 74

DESAI A. R., 139, 141, 147
DEVANANDAN P. D., 95
DHARMATHEERTHAJI SWAMI, 22, 80-81, 138
DUBE S. C., 5, 183

FILLIOZAT J., 71, 77-78
FROMM, ERIC
  On social character, 25
  On maladjustment, 205-206

GARDINER MURPHY, 150, 198
GERARD R. W., 207
GERTH AND MILLS, 194
GHURYE G. S.
  On Parasurama tradition, 10-11
  On priesthood, 105
  On assimilation of tribes, 214
  On Indian ascetics, 215, 218
GUNDERT REV., 14

HALMOS, PAUL, 203, 207, 217, 223
HARISHARMA A. D., 14
HOLMES S. I., 18
HUXLEY, JULIAN, 97

IYENGAR P. T. SRINIVASA, 44, 50
IYER L. RAMASWAMI, 82

JACQUES CHEVALIER, 89

KAPADIA K. M., 19
KARVE IRAVATI, 28
KENNEDY M. T., 216
KOSAMBI D. D.
  on Parasurama tradition, 11, 29
  on beef-eating by brahmins, 31
  on syncretism of cults, 36
  on Brahmanism, 58, 93
  on Sanskrit, 85
  on materialistic interpretation of history, 168
KRISHNAMACHARI T. T., 132-133

LAPIERE R.
  on conquest, 2
  on ethnocentrism, 9-10
  on ethnoexpansionism, 9-10
  on cultural conqueror, 13, 16-17
  on catholic church, 34
  on language, 73-74
  on ideology, 96-97
LASWELL, HAROLD, 103-104, 109, 123
LENIN N., 188
LEWIS, ARTHUR
  on Matriarchy, 17, 19-20
  on immigrant groups, 19
LINTON, RALPH, 152

MANNEHEIM, KARL, 199
MAYER, ADRIAN C., 20, 21
MEES G. H., 210
MENON V. P., 206
MERTON, ROBERT, 112, 152, [illegible]
MOSCA G., 141
MUKHERJEE R. K.
  on social values, 6
  on symbolism, 86, 202
  on priestly class, 179
  on neo-Indian, 143
MUNSHI K. M., 76

NAIR B. N., 195
NAMBUDIRIPAD E. M. S., 9

NATARAJAN P., 180
NIETZCHE F., 3, 90

OLDHAM PROF., 69

PANIKKER R. N., 14
PANIKKER K. M.
  on parallel society, 31, 38, 76
  on spread of Aryans, 70
  on the rule of law, 114
PARSONS TALCOTT, 170-171
PEAR T. H., 204
PILLAI, VEDANAYAGOM, 47, 52
PILLAI, GOVINDA P., 14
PRABHU P. H. 141-142
PRASAD NARMADESHWAR, 16
PROTHERO J. W., 126, 127
PRZYLUSKI J., 52

RAMAN V. P., 150
RAO M. S. A., 14
RICOER, PAUL, 224-225
RIESMAN, DAVID, 128-129, 130
RISLEY, H., 62, 65

SIMPSON G. E., 126
SMITH C. V., 126
SOROKIN, PITRIM, 89, 174, 225-226
SPENGLER, OSWALD, 36
SPIERS JOHN, 84, 148
SPRANGER E., 208
SPROT W. H., 167
SRINIVAS M. N.
  on spread, 4, 153-154
  on Lingayat, 46
  on all-India Hinduism, 80, 171, 197
  on Sanskritisation, 153-154, 156
  on urbanisation, 177
STARK W., 196-197, 199, 201-202
STORCK JOHN, 143
SUMMER G., 155

TIMASHEFF N. S., 109, 171, 174
TONNIES FERDINAND, 158
TOYNBEE A.
  on creative minority, 3, 155
  on nemesis of creativity, 152
  on nimesis, 139

UNNI, RAMAN, 16

WACH, JOACHIM, 36, 72, 103
WATMOUGH, JOSHNA, 86
WEBER MAX
  on caste, 46
  on status group, 47, 108
  on plebian mystagogues, 55
  on charisma, 160

YATI NITYACHAITANYA, 210
YINGER, MILTON, 126

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